

More and Better Teachers for Quality Education for All

Identity and Motivation,
Systems and Support

co-edited by:

Jackie Kirk, Martial Dembélé and Sandra Baxter



Collaborative Works

More and Better Teachers for Quality Education For All

Dedicated to the memory of

Jackie Kirk



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Jackie was tragically killed by the Taliban in Afghanistan in 2008, along with three other IRC colleagues. She left many projects unfinished, of which this e-book is just one. All of the authors dedicate this work as a small tribute to her and her memory.

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ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

ADEA	Development of Education in Africa
AFD	<i>Agence Française de Développement</i>
ADB	African Development Bank
ALP	Advanced Learning Programme
ARTF	Afghanistan Reconstruction Trust Fund
ASFADDES	Asociación de Familiares de Detenidos Desaparecidos (national committee for the families of the disappeared, Colombia)
ASPU	Asociación Sindical de Profesores Universitarios
AUC	Autodefensas Unidas de Colombia
BEPC	end of lower secondary, i.e. 10 yrs of schooling
CBO	community-based organisation
CCJ	Comisión Colombiana de Juristas
CEART	Recommendations concerning Teachers
CEC	Community Education Committee
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of all Discrimination against Women
CfBT	Centre for British Teachers
CIEP	Centre International des Etudes Pédagogiques
CINEP	Centro de Investigación y Educación Popular
CIPGL	Paul-Gérin-Lajoie Center for International Development in Education
CODHES	Consultoría para los Derechos Humanos y el Desplazamiento
CONFEMEN	Conférence des Ministres de l'Education Nationale
CSHR	Center for the Study of Human Rights
CUT	Central Unitaria de Trabajadores de Colombia
DAC	Development Assistance Committee
DANIDA	Danish International Development Agency

DEF	9 years of schooling
DFID	Department for International Development (UK)
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
EDUCO	Educación con Participación de la Comunidad
EFA	Education For All
EFA FTI	EFA Fast Track Initiative
ELN	National Liberation Army
ENS	Escuela Nacional Sindical
EU	European Union
FARC	Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia
FECODE	Federación Colombiana de Educadores (major national teachers' federation, Colombia)
FET	Further education and training
FTI	Fast Track Initiative
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GER	gross enrolment ratios
GTZ	German Cooperation
HCI	Healing Classrooms Initiative
HRRAC	Human Rights Research and Advocacy Consortium
HWWA	Hamburg Institute of International Economics
IATT	Inter-Agency Task Team
ICFTU	International Confederation of Free Trade Unions.
ICTs	information and communications technologies
IDP	Internally Displaced Person
IEA	International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement
IICBA	International Institute for Capacity Building in Africa (UNESCO)
IIEP	International Institute for Educational Planning (UNESCO)
ILO	International Labour Organization
IMF	International Monetary Fund
INEE	Inter-Agency Network for Education in Emergencies
IPS	Inter Press Service
IRC	International Rescue Committee
IWGE	International Working Group on Education
MDTF	Multi-Donor Trust Fund
MoE	Ministry of Education

MoEST	Ministry of Education, Science and Technology
NAAC	National Assessment and Accreditation Council (India)
NBER	National Bureau of Economic Research
NEA	National Education Association
NEPAD	New Partnership for Africa's Development
NFE	Non-Formal Education
NGO	Non-governmental Organisation
NORAD	Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation
NPFTD	National Policy Framework for Teacher Education and Development
NQF	National Qualifications Framework,
NRC	Norwegian Refugee Council
NSA	Non-State Actor
OCHA	United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs
ODI	Overseas Development Institute
ODL	open and distance learning
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
OECD–DAC	OECD–Development Assistance Committee
OERs	open educational resources
OIF	Organisation Internationale de la Francophonie
PACE–A	Partnership for Advancing Community Education in Afghanistan
PASEC	<i>Programme d'analyse des systèmes éducatifs</i> of the conference of ministers of education of all French-speaking countries or <i>Programme d'analyse sectorielle de la CONFEMEN</i>
PBS	Protection of Basic Services Grant (Ethiopia)
PCN	Proceso de Comunidades Negras de Colombia
PDA	Polo Democrático Alternativo
PROHECO	Proyecto Hondureño de Educación Comunitaria [Honduran Community Education Project]
PTA	Parent–Teacher Association
PTC	Parent–Teacher Committee
PVDP	Participatory video documentary production
QA	Quality Assurance
RET	Red de Estudios de Espacio y Territorio
SACE	South African Council for Educators
SACMEQ	Southern and Eastern Africa Consortium for Monitoring Educational Quality

SADC	Southern African Development Community
SARPE	<i>Stratégie alternative de recrutement du personnel enseignant</i> [Alternative Strategy for the Recruitment of Teaching Personnel]
SCUK	Save the Children UK
Sida	Swedish International Development Agency
SINDISENA	Sindicato Nacional de Trabajadores de Servicio Nacional de Aprendizaje
SINTRAUNICOL	Colombian University Workers Union
SIPRI	Stockholm International Peace Research Institute
SMC	school management committee
SMC	School Management Committee
SNED	National System of Performance Assessment (Chile)
SSA	Sub-Saharan Africa
SUNY	State University of New York
TTISSA	Teacher Training Initiative for Sub-Saharan Africa
UBE	Universal Basic Education
UBEC	Universal Basic Education Commission
UIS	UNESCO Institute for Statistics
UN	United Nations
UNAIDS	Joint United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS
UNCHR	United Nations Commission for Human Rights
UNDP	United Nations' Development Programme
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNHCHR	United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
UP	Union Patriótica
UPE	Universal Primary Education
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
WGTP	Working Group on the Teaching Profession

PREFACE AND TRIBUTE TO JACKIE KIRK

Sandra Baxter

The concept for this book started over five years ago and builds on a smaller six-page project that touched on some of the challenges of getting enough teachers and better teachers into schools around the world.

Teachers are the true backbone to our learning and development. Therefore, we need to ensure that they are provided with good working conditions in order to motivate them to excel in their profession. Management structures need to be in place and training provided to build their skills. Teachers need to be recognised for their effort and put at the centre of education policies. Many countries struggle with basic problems of not having enough teachers, but the issues of keeping existing teachers motivated to stay and advance in their profession are also all too real. Around 60 million children across the world are still not in school. Sadly, getting every child into school does not mean that they will have a teacher, or a good teacher at that. Before getting to the rich details of each chapter, let me relate how this book came about.

In the summer of 2004, in my role as the Education Editor for id21, which was a UK Department for International Development (DFID)-funded project communicating findings from international development research, I published an *id21 insights education* publication on gender equality (www.eldis.org/id21ext/InsightsEdu3Editorial.html). Several academics and practitioners contributed short articles highlighting case studies from around the world. I expected the story to be quite grim (and, of course, in some places much more progress needs to be made before the dream can be realised of girls and women enjoying equal educational opportunities to boys and men). However, one of the positive case study articles really stood out for me: one describing how the International Rescue Committee (IRC) was providing home-based teaching for girls in Afghanistan. This was through supporting teachers to teach for a few hours a day at home or in a community space, such as a mosque.

Having experienced home-based schooling myself for a short while when growing up in Malta, I thought this was a great idea. We were not able to physically get into the local

school for about a month in the early 1980s, because of the political situation; however, to 'defy' the government and not jeopardise our education, parents and teachers organised themselves to divide us up into small groups of no more than 10 pupils, who rotated around different houses each day. We had to travel there and back with our books carefully hidden away and pretend that we were just visiting friends to play: where there is a will, there is a way. Both the will and the way are a lot more of a challenge in a country like Afghanistan, but as Malala Yousafzai recently affirmed, "One child, one teacher, one pen and one book can change the world" (UN General Assembly, 12 July 2013).

The article in that 2004 edition of *id21 insights education* #3 was entitled 'Home-based Schooling for Girls in Afghanistan', and it was written by Jackie Kirk (then based at the University of Ulster) and Rebecca Winthrop (then working with IRC and now the Director of the Center for Universal Education at the Brookings Institute)—both very inspirational individuals. The following year, I was lucky to participate in the INCORE Summer School in Northern Ireland on Gender, Conflict and Education—run by both Jackie and Rebecca.

I was therefore really pleased a few years later, in 2007, when Jackie Kirk (by then at the McGill Centre for Research and Training on Women in Montreal) applied to guest-edit a new *id21 insights education* publication with a colleague, Martial Dembélé (University of Montreal), focusing on teachers in the developing world. Statistics from 2006 (from the UNESCO Institute of Statistics) showed that 18 million primary school teachers alone were needed to complete the goals of Universal Primary Education. Yet there was a big gap in research around what was being done and how to address this.

That summer I worked closely with Jackie and Martial to produce the *id21 insights education* #6: 'More and Better Teachers Needed: Achieving Quality Education for All'. (www.eldis.org/vfile/upload/1/document/1308/insights_edn_6.pdf). Again, we had lots of fascinating contributions from authors highlighting some of the issues. Mario Novelli's research presented the chilling situation in Colombia, where teachers were being murdered because of their membership in the main teachers' union; Dilshad Ashraf's research on the lives of female teachers in Pakistan revealed tensions between traditional family commitments and professional aspirations; M'hammed Mellouki highlighted the pros and cons of the recruitment of contract teachers; and F. Halsey Rogers talked about the problem of teacher absenteeism—this is to name just a few of the articles and show the very varied areas of teachers' lives, identities and motivation that they focused on.

The 'More and Better Teachers Needed' publication was very successful. It was reprinted twice and was also one of the few *id21 insights* translated into French. Jackie and Martial were aware of the gap at the time in publications highlighting the range of challenges for teachers and wanted to build on our short publication. They came to me in 2008 with the idea for a book, and discussions started. None of us had any funds for this project—for writing, editing, proofreading, designing or publishing. Thankfully, all of the authors

agreed to contribute articles pro bono to highlight the important challenges teachers face.

Jackie and Martial lined up a great selection of authors, and everyone got working on their chapters. And then the unthinkable happened . . .

On 13 August 2008, Jackie Kirk was tragically killed, along with three other colleagues from IRC, in an ambush by the Taliban of a humanitarian aid vehicle in Afghanistan. This was a devastating and tragic loss to the education community. Jackie was a passionate advocate for her work and determined to make the world a better place. She was prolific with her academic publications but was also an activist for girls' and women's rights to education. She had the perfect balance between academic and activist—building the evidence base in order to act in the most appropriate and best way. She practised what she believed in, and I have never met anyone quite like her. Her energy and enthusiasm came from her passion and determination to make the world a better place—even if that meant by helping one individual at a time.

Shamefully, the shock of her death stalled progress with the book. On a personal level, I took a new job and moved country for a while. Finding the time to edit and complete the book was impossible. Now, as this year marks five years since Jackie was brutally taken from us, we were even more determined to get this book published. Some of the authors have more recently managed to update their chapters. I hope this book will be a worthy tribute to Jackie's vision. It is only a shame that she can't be here to see it finally reach completion and champion its messages. But without her inspiration, none of us would have linked up to collaborate on this worthy project.

Thanks to people like Jackie Kirk, teachers' issues are now firmly on the table. The debates and evidence base around teachers' issues have improved immensely over the five years since this project was started. In fact, the updated UNESCO Institute for Statistics (UIS) figures from 2012 look much more promising in terms of numbers needed to reach universal primary education by 2015—although the situation remains severe. And the international debate has moved on to not just talking about the *number* of teachers needed but also how to get the *quality* of teaching needed for better learning outcomes. Although things are moving in the right direction, I hope that each and every chapter in this book brings it home to you, the reader, what a challenge this is, and also that these chapters show some positive steps towards dealing with these challenges. It is good to see small positive steps in the right direction, but it is only together, with concerted effort, that we could even think to make those big leaps and bounds towards the goals of Education for All (www.unesco.org/new/en/education/themes/leading-the-international-agenda/education-for-all/efa-goals).

This book was produced purely as a result of the goodwill of several individuals. We don't have funds to print it, therefore a website (<http://moreandbetterteachers.wordpress.com>)

is being set up to house it. The articles have been through a peer-review process, and all of the authors have published through other peer-review journals or series. They are all respected authors in their own right, and their efforts and time are very much appreciated for this e-book also.

I would like to say a heartfelt thank you to each and every individual person who helped to put this book together. Thanks to: Jackie Kirk for her energy and vision; Martial Dembélé for his support and determination to see this project through, despite endless competing work deadlines; each of the individual authors (Dilshad Ashraf, Gabrielle Bonnet, Laura Brannelly, Naydene De Lange, M'hammed Mellouki, Claudia Mitchell, Relebohile Moletsane, Sussy Ndaruhutse, Mario Novelli, Tilla Olivier, Kathleen Pithouse-Morgan, Caroline Pontefract, F. Halsey Rogers, Jean Stuart, Linda Van Laren, Emiliana Vegas, Ramya Vivekanandan, Rebecca Winthrop and Lesley Wood); Klara and Eric King of Communication Crafts for their patience, editorial expertise and excellent design work; Simon Colmer for his brilliant help in getting the website up and running; you, the reader, for supporting this project—please do feel free to cite and quote from the chapters, just let us know!

And a final word, just to say that I hope Jackie Kirk's unlimited energy and efforts inspire us all to work together to champion a better situation for teachers and students everywhere. Education is a human right, and the quality of that education determines the opportunities that we have to grow and learn throughout our lives. That quality is down to the individuals who take part in providing or receiving it.

BOOK SUMMARY

The teaching profession has been climbing ever higher on the education agenda worldwide, in the drive to make the right to quality and relevant primary/basic education for all a reality by 2015. Indeed, there is global consensus that the achievement of this goal demands careful attention to teachers and teacher issues. In particular, there has been concern about teacher shortages. But teacher issues are far more than a numbers game.

It is with this premise that this volume was initiated and put together. It builds on an *id21 insights education* special issue on the theme of teachers, published in September 2007. This research digest, guest-edited by the co-editors of this volume, presented brief articles on key teacher-related topics of relevance to the achievement of EFA targets (www.eldis.org/vfile/upload/1/document/1308/insights_edn_6.pdf). This book includes full versions of some of the contributions to the 2007 id21 research brief, as well as additional chapters sought out in order to present a comprehensive picture of the issues within a complex, global context.

To promote a more holistic approach to teacher policy development, the book juxtaposes qualitative, narrative studies that provide insights into the lived experience of male and female teachers in sub-Saharan Africa, Asia and Latin America, with studies focused at the systems level. Besides the introductory and concluding chapter, it contains eight further chapters. Taken together, these chapters convincingly show that effective policy development to ensure an adequate supply of competent teachers requires attention to the connections and relationships between the 'private' lives and experiences of teachers and the 'public' systems and policy development processes that govern their recruitment, preparation, deployment, conditions of service, working conditions and professional development.

The book thus maps out the intersections and relationships between what we can learn from in-depth investigations of the lived experiences of teachers and macro-level

processes of systems and policy development. It also provides critical building blocks in the development of more teacher-centred policies, and especially so in the critical contexts of sub-Saharan Africa, the Arab States, and South and West Asia, where the need for new teachers is the most intense.

Teachers and teacher issues in the drive towards quality UPE/UBE: an introduction

Jackie Kirk and Martial Dembélé

The challenge is more than one of numbers. The quality of teachers and teaching is also essential to good learning outcomes. This implies an education system that attracts and retains a well-trained, motivated, effective and gender-balanced teaching staff; it implies a system that supports teachers in the classroom, as well as in their continued professional development. Dissatisfaction with loss in status, low salaries, poor teaching and learning conditions, and lack of career progression or adequate professional training have driven large numbers of teachers out of the profession, sometimes after only a few years of service.

From the 2007 World Teachers' Day Message,
cited in the Foreword of UNESCO/ILO, 2008, p. 3

1.1 Background

Education was established as one of the basic human rights in 1948. Since then, making primary or basic education accessible to all has figured prominently among national development goals. Despite notable efforts to this end, 40 years later a number of persisting and disturbing facts led the executive heads of the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) and the World Bank to jointly convene the World Conference for Education For All, held in Jomtien, Thailand, in 1990. The 1,500 participants represented 155 governments and some 20 inter-governmental bodies and 150 non-governmental organisations.

The facts were, among others, that more than 100 million children did not have access to primary education and more than 960 million adults were illiterate, with an overrepresentation of girls and women. The importance of this conference lies in part in the fact that it "was clearly a major milestone in the international dialogue on the place of education in human development policy, and the consensus reached there [gave] renewed impetus to

the worldwide drive to provide universal primary education and eliminate adult illiteracy” (UNESCO, 1994, Preface to the third printing). *Education For All* by the year 2000 emerged as a global imperative from this international gathering. Ten years later, in April 2000, about 1,100 participants from 164 countries gathered in Dakar, Senegal, to take stock of progress made towards meeting this imperative.

At the Dakar World Education Forum, it was established that there had been remarkable progress in terms of increased access, but that quality, measured by achievement scores in reading, writing, arithmetic and problem-solving (i.e., the basic learning tools) and internal efficiency, among others, was abysmally low, especially in sub-Saharan Africa. New goals were set, with 2015 as the target year for attaining these. For many developing countries, this meant dealing more forcefully with the dual challenge of improving the quality of primary/basic education while increasing coverage and retention.

1.2 EFA commitments and the global teacher shortage

Education being a labour-intensive development sector, the dual challenge thus posed increased interest in and concern about teacher quality, teacher education and teacher supply, with more attention to the latter. As Stuart and Lewin pointed out:

Perhaps surprisingly, the World Declaration on Education For All (EFA) which emerged from the conference at Jomtien in 1990, devoted scant space to the problems of teachers and teacher education, despite their centrality to the achievement of better learning outcomes. Ten years later at the Global Education Forum on EFA in Dakar it was clear that in many of the countries which had fallen well short of the goals set at Jomtien, teacher supply and teacher quality were amongst the most important constraints. In Dakar teacher education moved up the agenda of the EFA forum to the extent that the sub-Saharan Regional Action Plan included as one of ten targets:

Ensuring that by the year 2015, all teachers have received initial training, and that in-service training programmes are operational.

But the extensive implications of this target for training systems were not unpacked; nor was the evidence base for the advocacy revealed. (Stuart and Lewin, 2002, p. 212)

The implications of this target for teacher education systems are indeed extensive, considering the state of basic education in most developing countries. But, as we discuss below, the implications go beyond teacher education systems. The scope of the demand is simply mindboggling. In 2006, the UNESCO Institute for Statistics (UIS) estimated that globally, 18 million primary school teachers were needed over the next decade to meet EFA targets and Millennium Development Goals (UIS, 2006). This was to fill the new posts needed and the vacancies created by attrition (teachers leaving existing posts). By far the most dramatic gaps in teacher supply were in sub-Saharan Africa, where 1.6 million additional primary school teachers were needed. UIS had estimated that by 2015, countries like Chad, for example, would need almost four times as many primary school teachers

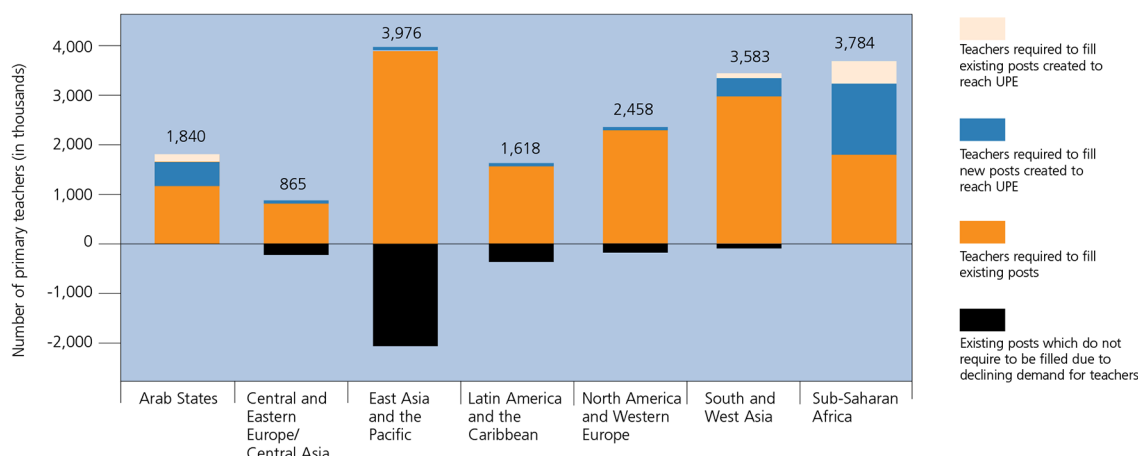


Figure 1.1 Number of primary school teachers needed to maintain existing numbers and to meet UPE goals between 2004 and 2015. (Source: Teachers and Educational Quality: Monitoring Global Needs for 2015, UNESCO Institute of Statistics, 2006.)

as they had then, an increase from 16,000 to 61,000, while Ethiopia had to more than double its teaching force (Figure 1.1). Other regions also had critical challenges: 450,000 new teachers were required across the Arab States, and an additional 325,000 teachers in South and East Asia, primarily in Afghanistan.

The 2012 update of the global demand for primary teachers (based on 2010 data) contains less dramatic figures, but the situation remains one of great concern:

Teacher shortages remain a major obstacle for countries to achieve the goal of universal primary education (UPE). . . . At the global level [a total of] 1.7 million additional primary teaching positions will need to be created to reach UPE by 2015. (UIS, 2012, p. 1)

As shown in Figures 1.2 and 1.3, sub-Saharan Africa is still the region with the most critical needs, with “almost six out of every ten additional teachers” needed (p. 1).

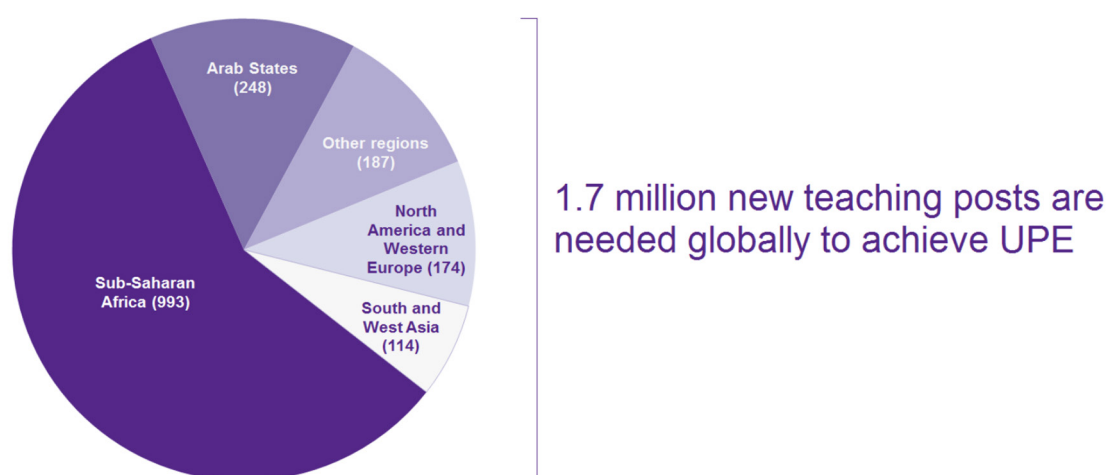


Figure 1.2 Number of additional primary teaching posts needed to reach UPE, 2010 (in thousands). (Source: UNESCO Institute for Statistics, Annex Table 2.)

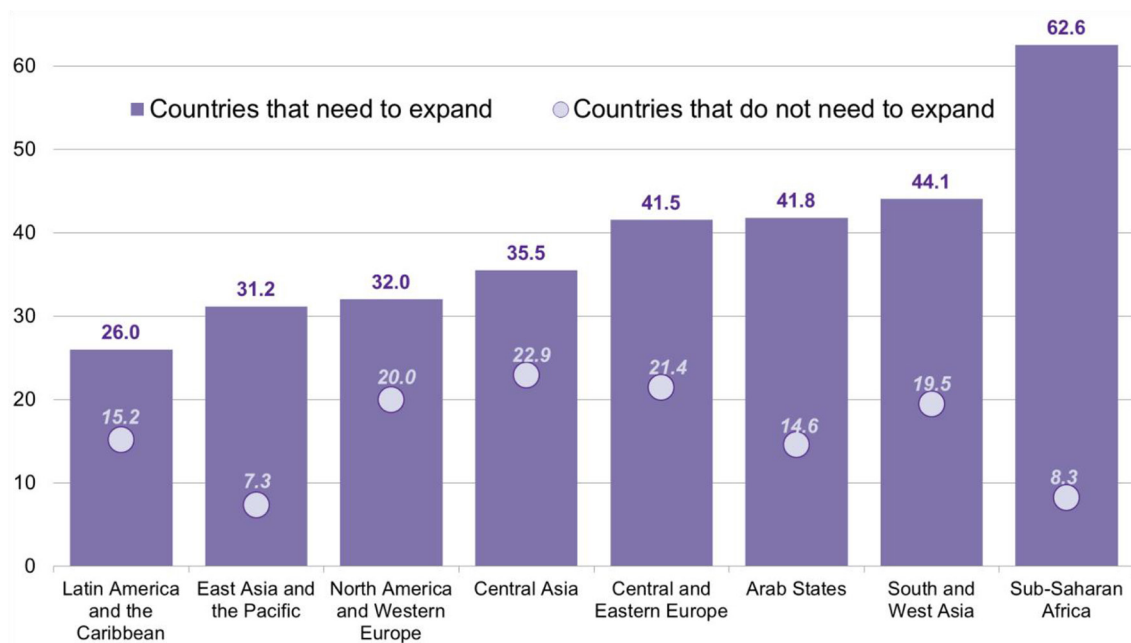


Figure 1.3 Recruitment needs to 2015 as a percentage of the current teaching workforce. (Source: UNESCO Institute for Statistics, Annex Tables 2 and 3.)

The statistics presented by UIS (2006) serve as a wake-up call to the multiple planning and management challenges of fulfilling the commitment to EFA, and to the need for holistic thinking in sectoral planning and strategy development. The interrelations between the different sub-sectors and levels of education become clear if, for example, analysis of teacher demand and supply—in general and/or in relation to particular population groups—reveals that the pool of potential teacher candidates is constrained by the low rates of (junior) secondary school completion. In such circumstances, it may be tempting to lower recruitment requirements; but we know that this may have undesirable consequences in the long run.

1.3 Beyond statistics: an overview of the issues

The joint UNESCO/ILO (2008) and UNESCO (1966) *Recommendation Concerning the Status of Teachers* remains current and, in many regards, unfulfilled (UNESCO, 1998). In practice, it also serves as a useful framework for thinking about and addressing teacher issues (see Table 1.1).

The issues can in fact be grouped into two sets: issues pertaining to preparation for the profession on the one hand, and those pertaining to what comes afterwards on the other hand. Attracting individuals with the educational background and personal qualities likely to help them become worthy members of the teaching profession was probably not a

Table 1.1*Teacher issues (UNESCO/ILO Recommendation Concerning the Status of Teachers)*

Issue	Sub-issue	Paragraphs
Preparation for the profession	Selection Teacher preparation programmes Teacher preparation institutions	11–30
Further education for teachers	—	31–37
Employment and career	Entry into the teaching profession Advancement and promotion Security of tenure Disciplinary procedures related to breaches of professional conduct Medical examinations Women teachers with family responsibilities Part-time service	38–60
The rights and responsibilities of teachers	Professional freedom Responsibilities of teachers Relations between teachers and the education service as a whole Rights of teachers	61–84
Conditions for effective teaching and learning	Class size Ancillary staff Teaching aids Hours of work Annual holidays with pay Study leave Special leave Sick leave and maternity leave Teacher exchange School buildings Special provisions for teachers in rural or remote areas	85–113
Teachers' salaries	—	114–124
Social security	General provisions Medical care Sickness benefit Employment injury benefit Old-age benefit Invalidity benefit Survivors' benefit Means of providing social security for teachers	125–140
The teacher shortage	—	141–145

Source: UNESCO, 1998.

major issue back in the mid-1960s, when the *Recommendation* was adopted. The situation is quite different nowadays.

1.4 Attracting, selecting and preparing for the profession

In the context of planning education for development, if attempts to change the quality of learning in schools [are] to be effective, they [have] to be linked to improvements in the education of teachers. (Beeby, 1966, quoted by Stuart and Lewin, 2002, p. 211)

After decades of school reform, a consensus is building that the quality of our nation's schools depends on the quality of our nation's teachers. [. . .] If we want schools to produce more powerful learning on the part of students, we have to offer more powerful learning opportunities to teachers. [. . .] Unless teachers have access to serious and sustained learning opportunities at every stage in their career, they are unlikely to teach in ways that meet demanding new standards for student learning or to participate in the solution of educational problems. (Feiman-Nemser, 2001, pp. 1013–1014)

Time and contexts of reference set these two quotes apart, but they both highlight the importance of teacher education and teacher quality. How to attract, select and prepare candidates for the profession is a familiar set of issues that is especially preoccupying for countries where demand is higher than supply or where the limited capacity to bear the weight of the teacher salary bill is a constraining factor. As Santiago noted:

In the short run, school systems facing situations of excess demand can respond in a variety of ways. The typical strategies used are:

‣ *Relaxing qualification requirements during hiring (Supply side):* If a qualified applicant is not available to fill an open teaching position, a less qualified applicant will typically be hired. . . .

‣ *Raising teaching loads (Demand Side):* The demand for teachers can be reduced and brought into line with available supply by increasing the workloads of employed teachers. This can be achieved both by increasing class sizes and by increasing the average number of classes assigned to teachers. Both approaches increase the pupil–teacher ratio.

Hence, in the short term, school systems adjust to excess demand situations either by relaxing qualification requirements or by increasing teachers' workloads. Most importantly, in either case, quality suffers. . . . In sum, in the short term, it is through adjustments in quality that supply and demand come into equilibrium. In the long term, adjustments in salaries and working conditions determine equilibrium. (Santiago, 2002, pp. 20–21)

The concern about quality suffering echoes the 1966 Recommendation (UNESCO/ILO, 2008/ UNESCO 1966) (para. 141–145) and is echoed by more recent publications, including OECD (2005), Dembélé and Mellouki (chapter 3, this volume), Pôle de Dakar (2009) and others. The OECD Report, for example, argues that the quantity and the quality of teachers are linked. It highlights how short-term responses can ensure that every class-

room has a teacher but raises concerns about the impact on the quality of teaching and learning. The joint UNESCO/ILO recommendation argues that:

... the competent authorities as a matter of urgency should take steps to render these expedients unnecessary and to discontinue them. In developing countries, where supply considerations may necessitate short-term intensive emergency preparation programmes for teachers, a fully professional, extensive programme should be available in order to produce a corps of professionally prepared teachers competent to guide and direct the educational enterprise. (UNESCO/ILO, 2008, para. 141–142)

In many parts of the world, particularly in developing countries, there has been a proliferation of emergency programmes since the 1990s. In many cases, there have been moves to institutionalise and not to discontinue them. “In many contexts teachers are in the process of disappearing to be replaced by largely untrained para-professionals” (Moon, 2007, p. viii). Financial constraints constitute the main explanatory factor of this trend. This is not surprising, as in many countries teachers’ salaries represent two thirds or more of the education budget.

1.5 Issues beyond attraction, selection and preparation

Teachers are primarily attracted to teaching by intrinsic motivation but extrinsic factors play a major role in retaining them.

Cooper and Alvarado, 2006, p. 17

Teacher demand and supply must, of course, be considered from the perspective of the financial resources required. They must, however, be considered also from the perspective of human resource availability; for even if financial resources abound, how to attract and especially retain talented individuals in the teaching profession remains an issue. This is particularly true in contexts where the profession’s image has been adversely affected by a set of interconnected factors, including, among others, deteriorating working and living conditions due to years of economic hardships and structural adjustment, widespread dissatisfaction with the current situation of schooling (and with teachers by extension), and the creation of a second class (in both senses) of teachers in several countries. Redressing this image stands as an important strategic direction towards Universal Primary Education (UPE) or Universal Basic Education (UBE). Unsurprisingly, enhancing the status, morale and professionalism of teachers was adopted as one of the 12 main strategies for achieving the objectives set by the Dakar Summit (see UNESCO, 2000a, paras 69 and 70). But this is more easily said than implemented! “Millions of teachers, particularly in Africa and parts of Asia continue to live and work in conditions of poverty. In this respect the vision set out in the 1966 Declaration remains unfulfilled” (Moon, 2007, p. 1).

As highlighted in recent studies (UIS, 2006; Pôle de Dakar, 2009), the achievement of universal access to primary/basic education of quality and relevance demands careful atten-

tion to teachers and teacher issues. Many more teachers are needed than are currently in the systems, but these teachers also need to be better managed and better equipped to meet the learning needs of diverse groups of students. Pontefract, Bonnet and Vivekanandan rightly argue in this volume (chapter 2) that “[t]he complexity and interrelationships of macro-level financial and policy environments and of teacher personal capabilities, identities and experiences need to be better understood in order to address the challenges the profession faces”. In other words, effective policy development to ensure an adequate supply of competent teachers requires attention to the connections and relationships between the ‘private’ lives and experiences of teachers and the ‘public’ systems and policy development processes that govern their recruitment, preparation, deployment, conditions of service, working conditions and professional development.

Even in stable conditions, the number of teachers is not a static figure: rather, it is a snapshot of a set of dynamics affecting the movements of men and women into, out of and within the ranks of the teaching profession. To be able to match demand, meet appropriate pupil–teacher ratios at all levels, for all subjects, and this in every corner of the territory, a ministry of education (MoE) requires data relating, for example, to patterns of subject and/or grade level preference/expertise, average length of service, teachers’ ages (especially as a predictor of retirement) and place of origin/desired service. Systems that function with two or more language or religious options require even more complicated calculations to ensure that the right teachers are in the right place.

The challenge is greater in contexts of fragility—and especially post-conflict reconstruction, where teacher management systems often have to respond to a wide variety of teacher levels and backgrounds, including, for example, volunteer teachers who may not even have completed their own education and experienced teachers returning from refugee camps in neighbouring countries (Kirk, 2008c). Returning teachers may have relatively high levels of training and experience but be unfamiliar with a new ministry’s education policies and curriculum. Conceptualising these different variables is only a first step as different data sets have to be reconciled (for example, from UNHCR on returnee teachers, from NGOs on community-based teachers) into a comprehensive teacher database and kept up to date to keep pace with population movements, with changing factors in the environment, such as relative levels of security in different areas of the country, and with other economic developments that might draw out teachers in a context of change and uncertainty. Organising and managing such complexity is a critical task for national teacher policy development, with implications for teacher recruitment and deployment, pre-service and in-service training, systems for supervision and oversight. However, as teacher policy development cannot wait until teacher databases are functioning within a comprehensive and accurate EMIS, ‘interim’ and evolving arrangements have to be established based on the best available data at the time.

The complexity of teacher flows is challenging for most countries. As UIS (2006) pointed out, “[w]hile teacher flows are crucial for policymaking, many countries lack the infra-

structure and/or capacity to implement educational management information systems which could provide reliable data on a regular basis” (p. 22). Teacher flows in and out of the profession depend on a number of factors, one of which is rates and regularity of teacher compensation. Establishing an appropriate teacher pay scale that ensures that teachers are paid a competitive salary that reflects their importance in society, a scale that allows for differentiation according to responsibility, for professional development and career progression and for regular incremental increases *and* that is regularly reviewed and agreed upon by teachers’ organisations is a critical teacher management function. Such a function may, however, not be entirely within the authority of the MoE; it may, for example, depend on the function of a civil service commission, public sector reform initiatives, as well as on the allocations made to the MoE by the Ministry of Finance. Furthermore, while the development of a diversified pay scale with stakeholder-agreed salary agreements is critical, so is the functioning of efficient financial systems for the regular and accurate transfer of funds throughout the country.

Unique to a ministry of education is the geographic spread of its employees in communities across the country, adding particular challenges to ensuring that each teacher’s salary is delivered on time, to a location that is easily accessible, without additional costs or time incurred. Teacher compensation issues are closely linked to those of teacher data collection, management and planning. Ministries need to have up-to-date information on which teachers are teaching where, what subjects/levels they are teaching and what other responsibilities they may have, how long they have been in service and so on. Compensation is also related to broader issues of teacher motivation. As highlighted in several chapters in this volume (Rogers and Vegas, chapter 4; Kirk and Winthrop, chapter 7; Brannelly and Ndaruhutse, chapter 8), it is one factor, but not the only one, in teacher motivation and retention. There may be non-cash contributions such as food and labour, as well as other rewards of the job, such as training and professional development opportunities. Pre-service and in-service teacher education and ongoing support and professional development are critical functions of an education ministry—and functions that need to adapt to changing environments, new skills sets required by students and the new demands that are made on teachers.

As Pithouse-Morgan and colleagues highlight (chapter 5, this volume), HIV/AIDS, with its multiple stresses on students, teachers, parents, communities and education systems, may call for some quite different approaches to teacher education—in particular more participatory, arts-based methodologies. Kirk and Winthrop also point to the need for education authorities to adopt new approaches to thinking about and working with under-qualified and inexperienced teachers who may nonetheless have skills and capacities not normally recognised in teacher profiles or competency assessments. Complementing the capacity development function of an education ministry with regard to teachers are its regulatory and oversight functions—that is, its responsibilities to ensure that teachers and other education personnel are using their authority and their skills effectively, to help children achieve learning and well-being outcomes. Effective teacher supervision and

performance assessment depend on coherent systems in which accurate and appropriate job descriptions, codes of conduct and performance objectives and reviews are basic tools. The supervisors, managers and other professionals who should use such tools to frame their interactions with teachers need to be well trained, managed and supported, and they need to be fully aware of and able to initiate procedures for dealing with violations of the codes of conduct and professional misconduct, such as prolonged and unauthorised absence from school. Rogers and Vegas (chapter 4) highlight the lack of clear consequences as an apparently important factor in perpetuating teacher absenteeism on a large scale.

An issue that has gained prominence over the years, especially with the massive recruitment of untenured teachers to meet international commitments to EFA, is that of teacher attrition. However it is defined, teacher attrition “is a problem to educational provision in [both] developed and less developed countries. . . . Generally, lower attrition rates exist in developed countries than in less developed countries, during times of economic constraint rather than economic growth, and in urban locations” (Macdonald, 1999, p. 835 and 837). In addressing attrition, the greatest challenge to educational planners and administrators is posed by teachers who leave the profession voluntarily and prematurely (as opposed to those who leave at the normal retirement age). The extent of premature and voluntary exit from teaching needs to be monitored closely, and measures must be taken to reduce it as much as possible. (For a good discussion of the factors that influence attrition, its impact and strategies to decrease it, see Macdonald, 1999, pp. 839–845.) Research (e.g. Huberman, 1993) suggests that the highest rates of attrition occur in the early years of teachers’ careers. In contexts where new entrants (are likely to) outnumber their more experienced colleagues—as is the case in regions with the greatest gaps in teacher supply—those years must be accorded special attention. Otherwise, the economic, social and educational costs of attrition may be unbearable.

1.6 The contribution of this volume to the ongoing discussion

From the foregoing, it seems clear that teacher and teacher management issues are complex and represent far more than a numbers game. Teachers are men and women with their own identities, experiences and priorities through which their professional and personal concerns and needs are constructed. They enact a wide range of social roles—for example, as mothers, fathers, sons, daughters, community leaders—and they may take up more overtly political roles as human rights activists, social change agents and/or vocal advocates for quality education. Teachers assume diverse positions in a range of social, political and economic institutions, organisations and structures, as well as within schools and education systems—in families and kinship structures, community organisa-

tions, community leadership structures, savings schemes, collective garden groups, even in military or para-military structures.

The relations, affiliations and cultural, religious and other values and beliefs that are constructed in and through varied positions and roles that we might describe as 'personal'. These, however, in turn impact on and shape teachers' professional sense of teacher identity—their 'teacherness'. Teachers affected or infected by HIV/AIDS, for example, have status, health, financial and family security issues to address in—and maybe through—their continued work as teachers.

Teachers' professional and personal roles and relations are also shaped by broader contextual factors related to the social, political and economic milieu in which they live and work. Teachers living in conflict-affected contexts, for example, have survival and security priorities, and especially so where their ethnicity, religion, political or trade union affiliation casts them on one particular 'side'. The chilling statistics of political violence against teachers reported by Novelli (chapter 6, this volume) are illustrative in this respect and remind us that teachers *are* political actors (Ginsburg and Kamat, 2009; Ginsburg and Lindsay, 1995), whether or not they define themselves as such.

Many teachers in emergency or post-crisis situations have not chosen to become teachers: rather, their entry into the profession is a result of the situation. They have responded to the needs of the community and/or to the lack of other livelihood opportunities and become 'spontaneous' teachers. Unfortunately, this also means that they are often 'tentative' teachers with a fragile professional identity (Kirk and Winthrop, chapter 7, this volume; Winthrop and Kirk, 2005). For those teachers whose schools have been devastated by earthquake or other natural disasters, the professional challenges of teaching in a tent or in the open are matched by personal challenges of rebuilding their own homes and their families' livelihoods. There are also teachers working in fragile states in which chronic under-funding, corruption and political interference impact heavily on their personal and professional lives. In all these contexts, the vulnerabilities of women teachers, especially to sexual violence, are often overlooked.

Even in contexts of relative normality, women teachers must deal with challenges that affect their work and career. As reported by Dilshad Ashraf (chapter 9, this volume), women teachers and head teachers in the northern areas of Pakistan have to negotiate various interconnected professional and personal situations through compliance and resistance to a complex set of local gender norms. Such local gender norms shape the work and career of women teachers in other developing country contexts as well, probably not for the best. In light of evidence of the positive impact of women teachers on girls' education (Kirk, 2008a), gender balance can be set as an important policy objective and measures taken to ensure that women who embrace teaching can enjoy a rewarding career—including an adequate compensation, professional development and career advancement opportunities—comparable to that of their male colleagues.

Research and policy studies related to teachers tend, however, to separate systems from individuals—and this is especially the case in developing country contexts where much less attention is paid to teacher biography and identity. Systems analysis and consideration of issues such as teacher supply and demand and pre-service and in-service training usually remain separated from studies of teachers' classroom, family and community experiences. Discussions of the gendered nature of teachers' lives and work, perceptions and motivations, of the impacts of the different forces of globalisation, experiences of violence and living in conflict contexts, take place elsewhere; the role of teachers' unions in both technical and contractual issues is also rarely considered.

Systems-level strategies to increase and improve the teaching force need to be informed by consideration of teachers' lived experiences. As Rogers and Vegas assert (chapter 4, this volume) teacher absenteeism, for example, is a system-level issue that has a serious impact on the quality of education, but effective policy cannot be developed without understanding why teachers are absent in the first place and what the barriers to regular attendance are. Other critical teacher and teacher management issues that demand interconnected micro- and macro-level considerations include teacher compensation (how much and how to pay teachers and para-teachers in relation to the relative salary levels, the supply of potential teachers and social attitudes towards teachers and teaching); teacher education and support (how to promote quality education, especially with limited resources and under-qualified teachers); teachers' sexuality and HIV/AIDS (teachers' own experiences of living with the disease or with caring for those affected by it, their relative comfort levels with talking about sex and sexual activity with students and with peers); and addressing gender disparities in the teaching profession (understanding the complex gender roles and relations that men and women have in families, communities and other institutions and organisations and understanding the different opportunities and limitations they might have in promoting gender equality).

In light of the foregoing, we argue that a more dynamic and comprehensive framework in which to situate teachers *and* teacher management issues can support improved education planning and management and improved teacher and teacher management outcomes. UNESCO's Teacher Training Initiative for sub-Saharan Africa (TTISSA) was a promising initiative in this respect (see Pontefract and colleagues' chapter 2, this volume). This chapter and the others provide critical building blocks in the development of more teacher-centred policies, and especially so in the critical contexts of sub-Saharan Africa, the Arab States and South and West Asia, where the need for new teachers is the most intense.



Ensuring MORE and BETTER Teachers: Diverse strategies and implications

UNESCO's Teacher Training Initiative for sub-Saharan Africa (TTISSA): a holistic response to the teacher challenge

Caroline Pontefract, Gabrielle Bonnet and Ramya Vivekanandan

2.1 The challenge

It has been increasingly acknowledged that the acute shortage of qualified teachers is one of the greatest barriers to achieving the Education For All (EFA) goals by 2015 (UNESCO, 2004b). In 2006, it was estimated that to reach universal primary education in time, sub-Saharan African (SSA) countries would need to create 1.6 million new posts, representing a 68% increase of the teaching force, and hire 4 million additional teachers (UIS, 2006). The teaching force at this time needed to double, triple or even quadruple in size (as in Congo and Chad), and the need was seen as even greater once other levels of education are taken into account.

However, there remained severe logistical limitations to recruiting sufficient numbers of teachers: the traditional college-based model of teacher training alone is not able to cope with the increasing demand posed by demographic trends and increasing school enrolments, and is too costly to be sustained. Lack of qualified teachers is also not just an issue of training but one of poor working conditions and inadequate salaries that teachers face. Even with the inadequate number of teachers that this article highlights, teacher salaries still represented up to 90% of education budgets in many countries. This leaves little money for school infrastructure or resources and presents less-than-ideal teaching and learning conditions for teachers and children. Poor conditions and inadequate salaries bring low status to the profession and threaten the quality of education.

This low status is further exacerbated by countries lowering entry requirements in order to encourage more teacher trainee applicants into the colleges. This leads to teacher training programmes placing greater emphasis on academic upgrading, rather than on the professional dimensions. Newly qualified teachers are thus often ill-equipped to deal with

the realities of the classroom. If the teacher preparation is inadequate the importance of ongoing professional support to teachers is even more key, yet for many teachers it will either not be available, or its provision will be ad hoc and fragmented. Professional support staff, such as Advisers and Inspectors, are likely to have responsibility for many schools and face logistical problems, such as lack of transport, which may prevent them from actually visiting the schools and providing the kind of support that is needed. With the challenges highlighted above it is no surprise therefore that there is frequent teacher absenteeism (Mulkeen, 2007), especially in the rural schools (*ibid.*), and that teacher attrition is highest within the first years of joining the profession.

In addition to the challenges of trying to address teacher shortage through increasing the intake of teachers into traditional preparation and training models, there is also the financial burden of increasing teacher numbers. Any plan to increase the number of teachers has to take into account the implications for the teacher wage bill, which, as noted earlier, already consumes a large percentage of the education budget. An increase in teacher numbers may therefore reduce teacher salaries or worsen their working conditions, with school systems adopting budget-saving strategies such as double-shift schooling, larger class sizes or heavier workloads. These ‘coping’ strategies likely further reduce the attractiveness of teaching as a career and thus make it even more difficult to recruit and retain teachers in the long term (OECD, 2005).

In SSA countries with often limited resources and low educational outcomes (for example, average student achievement in SSA has been found to be lower than in developed countries with data indicating that in mathematics and language Southern and Eastern Africa lags behind by around 3 grades), issues of teacher quality and quantity therefore need to be considered together to ensure that any policy response impacts positively on both. For example, various options, such as modifying existing teacher salaries, creating varied strata of teachers (as reflected in salaries and terms and conditions of work), increasing current class sizes or changing teachers’ overall workload might increase children’s access to a teacher but can also affect the quality of teaching in the long term. Similarly, potential strategies to address problems of shortage may themselves bring new challenges if they are not properly conceived and their longer term implications not considered. Policy development and implementation take time and in the interim students need teachers. When countries respond, as many have done, by contracting untrained teachers, they need to be able to determine how to address the professional development needs of these teachers.

Confronted with the challenge both to achieve an adequate number of teachers and ensure that they have the requisite skills and qualities to fulfil the expectations placed upon them, the countries of sub-Saharan Africa requested—as Member States of UNESCO—that UNESCO design and implement a teacher-focused Initiative. The Teacher Training Initiative for sub-Saharan Africa (TTISSA) was conceived and launched in January 2006 as a ten-year UNESCO initiative aiming to increase the quantity and improve the quality of

the teaching force in SSA. The initial mandate of TTISSA was to work with Member States in 17 'first phase' countries, gradually extending to all SSA countries by 2015.¹

2.2 Responding to needs

In light of the interdependence of the challenges facing the teaching profession, the emphasis on 'Teacher Training' in TTISSA seemed somewhat limiting. This was all the more so given that research indicates that teacher policies which attempt to grapple with determining the type of initial training but do not comprehensively address the dimensions of professional development, administrative and professional management, working conditions and teacher status are not effective. If issues of status, working conditions and management are not managed they may lead to increased absenteeism and a further decline in teachers' motivation.

As such, teacher training alone is unlikely to suffice if teachers are not supported professionally and administratively once in service and if they find their daily existence to be constrained by poor working conditions and low status, which impact on their motivation and increase attrition rates (Michaelowa, 2002). The complexity and interrelationships of macro-level financial and policy environments and of teacher personal capabilities, identities and experiences need to be better understood in order to address the challenges the profession faces.

Studies undertaken in the framework of TTISSA indicated that although many SSA countries faced similar challenges with regard to the teaching profession, the emphasis within a country could vary. One of the key sources of information was an analytical synthesis of school level descriptive data from studies conducted by the *Programme d'analyse des systèmes éducatifs de la CONFEMEN* (PASEC) and the Southern and Eastern Africa Consortium for Monitoring Educational Quality (SACMEQ) for Francophone and Anglophone African countries, respectively (Bonnet, 2007.) This synthesis, undertaken to support the design of TTISSA, covers a range of teacher characteristics including employment status, gender, age, experience, academic qualifications, pre- and in-service training, subject matter knowledge, curriculum and command of local languages, as well as issues related to management and motivation (Bonnet, 2007). The findings underlined both common challenges and specific country characteristics. For example, the issue of contract teachers remains of particular significance in Francophone Africa where teachers are contracted under different terms and working conditions from their civil servant colleagues. The study emphasised how civil servant teachers had become a minority in four out of the six PASEC countries between 2001 and 2004. In the PASEC sample, less than 50% of teachers were civil servants in Chad, Guinea, Niger and Togo, while these percentages were 67% in

¹ The 17 first-phase countries were: Angola, Burkina Faso, Burundi, Cape Verde, Central African Republic, Chad, Congo, Democratic Republic of Congo, Ethiopia, Ghana, Guinea, Madagascar, Niger, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Tanzania and Zambia.

Mali, in 2001, and 94% in Mauritania. Differing status and salaries are often accompanied by new modes and duration of training, all of which have implications for teaching quality and the perceptions of teaching as a profession.

The design of TTISSA thus needed to respond to the similarities across the region, while acknowledging the differences. A key step in moving the Initiative forward was therefore the development of a comprehensive results-oriented logical framework (Logframe) which would facilitate country level contextualisation. Four key areas of focus were identified:

- status and working conditions of teachers;
- teacher management and administration structures;
- teacher policies;
- quality and coherence of teacher professional development.

(A detailed Logframe has been developed and is available at <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0015/001539/153940e.pdf>)

Activities to be implemented under each 'output', and time-bound 'indicators' to measure their progress, were also developed. The Logframe was refined and eventually adopted by all of the UNESCO Field Offices responsible for managing first-phase TTISSA countries. It served as a useful overall planning tool for the large-scale initiative whereby implementation was to take place at different levels and engage a diversity of stakeholders. At country level the Logframe was used by the respective UNESCO Field Office and the Ministry of Education in order to determine their own priorities. Similarly, when additional funding was sourced for TTISSA from a development partner, the Logframe could help in capturing the specific country needs, but in alignment with the overall orientation of the Logical Framework.

Each of these four areas of the TTISSA Logframe, and their interrelationship, were thus central to the design, implementation and ongoing direction of the programme.

2.3 Aligning with existing systems or activities

It was important to ensure that the design and implementation of TTISSA reflected not only the overall mandate of UNESCO, but also drew on its comparative advantages. As the sole UN agency with a global mandate for all levels of education, including higher education, UNESCO works to support its 195 Member States towards the creation of learning societies with educational opportunities for all people. The ability it has to provide expertise and foster partnerships, to support lesson sharing across and within regions and to set international norms and standards can help to catalyse international cooperation in

education and build capacity. Alongside the need to draw upon UNESCO's comparative advantage was the importance of reflecting the emphasis the Agency places on country ownership, harmonisation, partnership, results-based management and accountability—all echoed in the Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness of 2005. In this context it was key that the design and implementation of TTISSA reflected the work of external stakeholders engaged in teacher issues in many of the SSA countries; these included other UN agencies, multilateral and bilateral development partners, NGOs, private sector companies, foundations, universities and individuals. The programme furthermore provided an opportunity to strengthen relationships with key organisations working at global, regional, sub-regional and national levels. These included, among others, the ILO, Education International, World Bank, African Development Bank, African Union, NEPAD, ADEA, Commonwealth Secretariat, Commonwealth of Learning, *Organisation Internationale de la Francophonie*, the UK Open University UK's TESSA programme and the Inter-Agency Network for Education in Emergencies.

At the regional level the African Union Second Decade for Education was a key reference point. Sub-regionally, the education strategies of the Regional Economic Communities (RECs), such as Southern African Development Corporation (SADC), provided other important frameworks. At national level the Paris Declaration had emphasised the need for increased harmonisation, with development partners and governments working hand in hand. For UNESCO Field Offices in SSA this often meant operating within the context of an Education Sector Wide Approach (Riddell, 2002). Here teachers may be specifically targeted, and the TTISSA initiative had to dovetail with current practices and not duplicate or undermine them. At that time, the overall implication for designing and implementing TTISSA was the need to ensure better understanding of how the initiative could add value within a complexity of different levels of frameworks, roles and responsibilities.

Adding to this complexity was that of UNESCO itself, where TTISSA was perceived as a centralised initiative in an increasingly decentralised context, the challenge was to situate TTISSA between the Headquarters in Paris and Regional, Cluster and National Offices in sub-Saharan Africa. The strategic design and direction of the Initiative was to be provided by the Teacher Education Section of the UNESCO Headquarters in Paris. Coordination of the TTISSA programme was the responsibility of the regional office for education, based in Senegal (BREDA), and implementation of activities and technical support was the responsibility of the Cluster and Field Offices. Although roles and responsibilities at each level were clearly articulated, in practice there was still uncertainty and even wariness at Field level. To try to allay any concerns the HQ team worked from the onset with the Field Office colleagues in conceiving TTISSA and deliberating on implementation modalities.

Practically this collaboration was also enhanced through the way in which funds were mobilised, with Headquarters playing a key role in the mobilisation of extra-budgetary support from countries, such as that provided by France, Spain, Italy, Israel, Japan and the Nordic-funded EFA Capacity Building Programme. In designing TTISSA proposals to

access these funds, the Headquarters thus ensured active engagement with the UNESCO Field Offices so that proposals were developed collaboratively and addressed UNESCO country-level priorities but also those of the overall TTISSA framework.

One very initial strategy, undertaken prior to the development of the Logframe and the establishment of the HQ team was the appointment of National Coordinators in each of the 17 first-phase countries. The role of TTISSA Coordinators, who were all senior-level officials familiar with teacher issues in their countries, was to design action plans for TTISSA activities in their countries, based on existing education sector plans and national teacher policy. However, the success of the model varied from country to country, which reflected in part the fact that UNESCO Field Offices had not always been involved in either the nomination of the Coordinators of the countries under their purview or in determining the appropriateness of this approach in their context. As such, the TTISSA action plans produced were not in line with existing national frameworks and structures, as in some cases the Coordinators were not privy to the mainstream systems and structures. This led to proposals for what would have been the establishment of parallel systems, which would have likely not functioned and would have been perceived as undermining of the existing work of the development partners and the Ministry of Education. In a few countries, the idea of a National Coordinator was considered appropriate, but the actual person selected was less so. It was therefore a priority for the new HQ team to discuss how best to move forward with regard to the National Coordinator model with the UNESCO Field Offices. Field Offices who in turn felt that the decision as to whether or not to maintain a National Coordinator should rest with them in discussion with their Ministry counterparts. The experience with the National Coordinator model highlighted the importance of dialogue and shared decision making between HQ and the Field Offices and of working within mainstream systems and structures.

2.4 Status and working conditions of teachers

Teacher status and working conditions are inextricably linked with their recruitment, training, salaries and management and themselves an outcome of evolving contexts and broader financial issues. Many countries, in attempting to quickly respond to teacher shortages in constrained financial environments, have turned to employing teachers on a contract basis. This is likely, however, to mean less job security and often far lower salaries for these teachers than their civil service counterparts. In the long term this can adversely affect pupil learning, although research on the impact that teacher salaries and contractual status have on pupil learning outcomes often seems contradictory. For example, in a number of Francophone countries such as Madagascar or Mali, community or contract teachers, who were paid up to 6.4 times less than civil servant teachers, were found to have, all other parameters being equal, more positive impact on pupils' academic progress than their civil servant counterparts (Bernard, Tiyaad and Vianou, 2004 and PASEC/CONFEMEN, 2004). The same phenomenon can be seen in Kenya (Duflo, Dupas

and Kremer, 2008) and in the fifth grade in Cameroon (ibid). However, in other contexts (like in Niger or in the second grade in Cameroon), civil servant teachers have a more positive effect on pupils' progress, everything else being equal, than do their contractual colleagues. Although these findings are interesting as a snapshot, the data does not allow for consideration of whether this positive impact is sufficient or sustainable, nor does it relate to the retention level of teachers. Even teachers with civil servant status, and the greater security of tenure and better wages that this brings, are still unlikely to be satisfied with their salary and teaching and learning working conditions. Here TTISSA's analytical synthesis showed that:

- 68% of Togolese civil servant teachers who were surveyed said that salaries were late (this percentage rises to 95% for contract teachers);
- in Lesotho and Malawi more than half of all students go to schools which either need complete rebuilding or major repair;
- less than a quarter of teachers surveyed have a dictionary in Zanzibar, Chad, Guinea, Mauritania and Niger; and
- in Guinea only 16% of schools in the sample have toilets (Bonnet, 2007)

Job satisfaction is a complex issue, and the question of status and working conditions may go beyond issues of tenure, wages, school conditions or classroom equipment. Societal respect for teachers and the perceived ability of teachers to have a say in what affects them at the national level may be equally important. In this respect "qualitative research [has] identified the sense of undervaluing, disempowerment and alienation that the average classroom teacher feels in many developing countries. Teachers, including head teachers, do not feel that they have a voice in education decision-making beyond their immediate teaching or school environment. There is a strong sense of distance from regional- and national-level decisions that are eventually communicated to teachers as immutable decisions, often divorced from their daily situation" (UNESCO, 176/32, 2007d). It is interesting to note that membership in a teacher union seems to have a positive impact on teachers' job satisfaction. This may be interpreted as a sign that unionised teachers are better supported and feel they have more voice and political strength and are part of a professional body (Michaelowa, 2002).

Teacher motivation is also seemingly highly dependent on societal and individual expectations. Better qualified teachers may be dissatisfied with a job they perceive as having lower status than they expected (which expresses itself in terms of a decrease in job satisfaction among teachers with higher academic or pedagogical degrees), offsetting any positive impact of increased competency on motivation. The same effect is seen with interim head teachers in Francophone countries who are although this position has a higher status than that of teachers the incumbents and markedly less satisfied than these teachers. [ibid]. Similarly, in relation to teachers' working conditions increasing class size or increasing teachers' workload is likely to have a negative impact on teachers' overall

motivation, although research suggests that class size, within a certain threshold, does not have a negative impact on pupils' learning, at least within the environment and teaching culture of the countries of the study (Michaelowa, 2003).

These findings pose challenges, as while they suggest that options such as contract teachers and limited changes in class size can be an acceptable option for governments and employers, they are almost certainly difficult for teacher themselves and possibly detrimental to the overall status of the profession. Research which considers the reality of contractual status and class size in the context of countries' economic and social situations and their impact on the micro-level is thus needed. This implies an analysis of pupils' social and personal needs, teachers' own perception of their situation and working conditions and their expectations for the future, community perceptions and the overall effect of these factors.

TTISSA set out to help unravel these issues in order to see how best the status of the profession as a whole can be enhanced. Through the Initiative, issues and challenges were highlighted and research in these key areas was emphasised. An example of how the Initiative worked in this way was in Burundi, a country plagued by 12 years of civil war, where a TTISSA study was undertaken on teachers' motivation, attrition and career development.

The combination of the effects of civil war within the country and easy access to its neighbour Rwanda, where teacher salaries are higher, led to an exodus of many of the most qualified teachers. The TTISSA project in Burundi was therefore designed to respond to this situation through an assessment of the status of teachers to identify the factors which attract, motivate and retain qualified professionals. The research explored the situation in the various provinces of the country and drew on existing documentation. Interviews were undertaken with representatives from the Ministry of Education and teachers' unions. Approximately 800 teachers from over a hundred primary and secondary schools in the 18 education provinces were interviewed. In addition, a questionnaire was sent to both education personnel and students to complement the picture. The findings indicated a devaluation of the profession and identified the desire for constructive social dialogue between the teachers and the Ministry of Education in order to address this. Based on the findings, the Ministry worked on developing a teacher education policy which will set out a career path for teachers; it also undertook training programmes for both teachers and inspectors which seek to address the issues highlighted in the study. The support that was provided to Burundi through TTISSA provides a good example of the way in which the Initiative could be a vehicle for evidenced-based policy making.

The TTISSA programme was similarly a means to strengthen general advocacy for teachers, as well as for those managing the profession. Key to this advocacy was raising awareness of the two teacher-related UNESCO and International Labour Organization (ILO) global normative instruments: The 1966 joint ILO/UNESCO *Recommendation Concerning the Status of Teaching Personnel* and the 1997 UNESCO *Recommendation Concerning the*

Status of Higher-Education Teaching Personnel. These instruments outline the rights and responsibilities of teachers and address the key areas of initial teacher education and training, recruitment, deployment, in-service training, retention, remuneration, social security, working conditions, social dialogue and academic freedom. Their implementation is supported by the Committee of Experts on the Application of the Recommendations concerning Teachers (CEART), and within this committee, the Working Group on Allegations. This Working Group receives allegations of non-adherence to the Recommendations from teacher organisations and fully examines them. The CEART then reports back to the Governing Bodies of both UNESCO and ILO on the allegations received, and also more broadly on global trends, issues and challenges facing the teaching profession. Although the Recommendations are not legally binding, they do serve as an important reminder to all Member States, in a high-level arena, of the need to ensure that teachers' rights and responsibilities are fully recognised.

The issues impacting teachers in Sub Saharan Africa are not dissimilar to those impacting on teachers around the world. In this regard, the UNESCO-led annual celebration of World Teachers' Day every 5 October is a key opportunity for advocacy for all teachers with regard to the central role they play in the achievement of the Education For All goals. Celebrations are held around the world, and a Joint Message is prepared initially by UNESCO and endorsed by the ILO, the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), and the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) and Education International. The World Teachers' Day message and the activities organised on this day provide the opportunity to not only acknowledge the importance of teachers, but also to highlight issues and challenges impacting on the profession. In the 2007 message, for example, emphasis was placed on the need for teacher-related data, both quantitative and qualitative, to support the development of appropriate policies. Limited data is a particular issue in many SSA countries, but also in other regions of the world. In the 2008 message the need for coherent teacher policies was further endorsed, and their significance with regard to teacher recruitment, training, management and career development emphasised. (See Box 1.)

Similarly UNESCO in its capacity as a global agency can itself advocate for teachers and raise awareness of the important role they play, through the awarding of prizes for excellence. One such prize was launched in 2008 namely the UNESCO-Hamdan Bin Rashid Al-Maktoum Prize for Outstanding Practice and Performance in Enhancing Effectiveness of Teachers. The focus of this Prize is on outstanding teacher-related activities which serve to enhance the quality of teaching and learning. Priority is given to developing country contexts and to marginalised and disadvantaged communities. The promotion of the prize, the award process and the dissemination thereafter of the 'outstanding' practices, can further raise the profile of the teaching profession.

UNESCO has the capacity to support its advocacy with data and research, through its Institute for Statistics (UIS), International Institute for Educational Planning (IIEP) and the EFA Global Monitoring Report (GMR). Informed advocacy can initiate and sustain dia-

Box 1 World Teachers' Day 2008 at UNESCO

World Teachers' Day was inaugurated in 1994 to commemorate the signing of the UNESCO/ILO *Recommendation Concerning the Status of Teachers* on 5 October 1966. The celebration of this day in 2008 was an opportunity to give a voice to teachers from different regions. Teachers from Togo, France, Haiti, Morocco and Malaysia spoke of their experiences of classes of 130 pupils and of teachers having to work as motorcycle taxi drivers or as night guards in order to supplement their teaching salaries.

Mr Kokou Mawunyo Ayedze, National Coordinator of UNESCO Associated Schools in Togo, described some of the huge difficulties that teachers face in his country, where limited number of regular teacher contracts has led to low or unequal scales of pay, poor training and scant school inspection. He described a situation in which there are *"secondary schools with 130 pupils per class, where the teacher cannot walk down the aisle and can barely control just the first row. Checking attendance can take 45 minutes. How can anyone be taught in this situation?"* he asked.

But there were success stories too. Ms Asha B. Dass, a teacher with over 20 years of experience and working in a secondary school in Penang, Malaysia, described how the Malaysian government has implemented a policy change which has had major impact on the status of teachers. Ms Dass talked of how mothers used to warn children that if they didn't study enough they would "end up as a teacher", in her words. But she explained that change began in 1994, when the new post of Master Teacher was created whereby candidates are identified by their Head Teachers to undergo a rigorous process towards the achievement of Master Teacher status, along with improved salary and conditions.

As the 2008 World Teachers' Day message asserted, the role of teachers in achieving quality Education For All must be "clearly articulated and reflected in policies which will foster a motivated, valued and effective teaching force".

logue and debate on the issues of status, salaries and working conditions of teachers in sub-Saharan Africa. It can highlight the need for both governments and development partners to confront these issues.

Such global events, awards and data/research as discussed above served to strengthen the advocacy for TTISSA, through highlighting the common challenges confronting the teaching profession across the globe, as well as in SSA, as well as the focus they gave to the particular problems facing education and teachers in SSA.

2.5 Teacher management and administrative structures

Studies indicate that the impact on pupil learning of teacher ‘characteristics’, such as the duration of training, broad contractual categories or academic degree, may be as low as 3%, even though ‘teacher effect’ is high (Bernard, Tiyaab and Vianou, 2004).

TTISSA analyses suggest that teacher management may be part of the ‘black box’ which is the difference between teacher characteristics and teacher effect. For example, the analyses show that on average every student loses two to three months of schooling in an academic year of 9 to 10 months. Of this up to one month is due to the school term beginning late (related to management and deployment issues), with one further month being due to teacher absenteeism (in itself linked to overall teacher management) and a third month due to student absenteeism (Bonnet, 2007). These findings are reiterated in World Bank studies in a number of Anglophone African countries which found a 25% absenteeism rate and a further 25% of teachers present on the premises of the school, but not actually teaching in the class (Mulkeen, 2007). Furthermore, absenteeism levels may often be underestimated, as exemplified by further TTISSA studies. These analyses show that teachers’ self-reporting and head teachers’ reporting are not always reliable (Bonnet, 2008). It also appears that an element of the differences in efficiency between individual teachers correlates with levels of teacher absenteeism and effective learning time.

This highlights the importance of overall teacher management and of strong leadership and adequate monitoring abilities at school level. TTISSA supported school management training through the UNESCO International Institute for Capacity Building in Africa (IICBA), located in Addis Ababa. IICBA carries out regional training workshops on school management and educational leadership. While further research is needed as to what works best and in which contexts, support was given through TTISSA to teacher management issues in the design of national programmes and policies. For example, in the Democratic Republic of Congo, TTISSA provided country-level support to teacher management through the training of 1,500 Inspectors in order to enhance the professional support they provide to teachers. The TTISSA-supported programme also assisted the Ministry to establish a teacher management system with well-defined recruitment policies and career plans for teachers.

Another key aspect of teacher management, particularly in the context of teacher shortage, is the efficient deployment of teachers. A late start to the school term may be attributable to difficulties in managing teacher posting and deployment to all areas of the country. The ‘percentage of alea’, which reflects how much of the distribution of teachers across schools in the country can be attributed to chance, ranged from 10% or less in Sao Tome and Principe and Guinea to more than 50% in Togo around the year 2000 (Pôle de Dakar, 2005). Timely and efficient deployment therefore needs consideration, and appropriate policies need to be designed, implemented and monitored. With regard to placing

teachers in less attractive areas, monetary and non-monetary incentives may be adopted alongside appropriate monitoring (Mulkeen, 2007).

Up-to-date, efficient and transparent systems for administrative management of teachers must be in place. This will ensure that teachers receive their salaries and other benefits on time and that promotion or deployment is dealt with effectively.

2.6 Teacher policies

Achieving visionary national goals towards the realisation of quality EFA requires strategising, costing, implementing, monitoring and evaluating, and a sound policy framework is crucial to support this process. Policies must specifically address the issues relating to teachers, from entry requirements to the profession, training modalities, teacher management issues, incentives at the school level, deployment and management capacities, professional development and issues of working and living conditions.

A sound basis for the policies is data and analysis of the economic efficiency of various investment options, i.e. teacher salaries, management, training and professional development. Such analysis is necessary in order to help ground teacher policies in realities and to help determine the choices to be made at the national level.

It is important, however, that economic efficiency is considered against the findings of both qualitative and quantitative research on factors contributing to teacher effectiveness. In the absence of an explicit teacher policy, trade-offs and options cannot be clearly analysed. Many of the SSA teacher policies reviewed through the TTISSA initiative were descriptive and aspirational, rather than evidence-based. Similarly implementation of the policies may not be strategically planned, and without strong evidence that the interventions are crucial and have the required impact, Ministries of Finances remain unconvinced of the need for additional funds for teachers (ADEA/ADB/World Bank meeting, Tunis, 2009).

In order to support countries in the review and development of teacher policies, TTISSA focused on a number of complementary areas. Firstly, a comparative study—discussed earlier—was undertaken to support the initial analysis of issues impacting on teachers (Bonnet, 2007). Secondly, in regard to the paucity of internationally comparable indicators on teachers and teaching-related issues, expert workshops were held, in conjunction with the UNESCO Institute for Statistics (UIS). These sought to explore current issues impacting on the quantity and quality of teachers and the implications in relation to quantitative and qualitative information needs. Here existing global data, which drew upon studies such as those of SACMEQ, PASEC and the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA), were reviewed. This work fed into UIS's future work on teacher indicators, including an Expert Group Meeting on Indicators for Teachers and

Teaching held in October 2012, which recommended, among other things, the collection of policy level data, sub-national disaggregation of indicators and the broadening of teacher indicators to all levels and types of education.

Thirdly, through TTISSA, national-level analysis of teacher-related policies from SSA countries and a number of other countries (Argentina, Brazil and Pakistan) was undertaken. The majority of the policies were found to address issues of country context, provide an overview of the education system and discuss the main components of teacher training, with some covering teacher training at all levels, while others focused only on the basic education level. However, commonly cited challenges were insufficient budgets, disconnects between teacher training and classroom practice and the fragmented provision of in-service training. This analysis of national teacher education policies formed the basis of the first Teacher Education Policy Forum for sub-Saharan Africa, held at UNESCO Headquarters in November 2007. The Forum brought together Directors and Deputy Directors of Teacher Education from the first-phase TTISSA countries along with UNESCO Field Office Education Specialists from the respective SSA countries, as well as internal and external partners (IIEP, Pôle de Dakar, ILO, University of London and World Bank). This diversity facilitated presentation and discussion on different dimensions of teacher policy development—research, costing and financing, teacher management, status and working conditions and emerging issues such as HIV and AIDS and ICTs—and enabled consideration of country level policy review and implementation processes.

The South African policy development process, presented in the workshop, provided a unique example of how a government moved from a segregated education system of varying quality to the development of a full-fledged National Policy Framework for Teacher Education and Development (NPFTD) in 2007. The NPFTD was of particular interest to the participants of the Forum, because of its objective to raise the qualified teacher status to degree level and provide access to qualification through a range of routes—part-time, full-time, school-based, distance learning and combinations of these elements. It was also valuable for countries to learn about the way in which the NPFTD had set out the way forward to establishing a system of accredited continuous professional development—mainstreamed under the management of the South African Council for Educators (SACE). Information was also shared on the introduction of other incentives in South Africa, such as the national teacher education bursary scheme ('Funza Lushaka') to encourage more young people to pursue a Bachelors of Education. Discussions of this initial workshop are captured in the Teacher Education Policy Forum for sub-Saharan Africa Report (UNESCO, 2008b) which serves as a useful reference document to the dimensions of policy development.

Following on from this workshop the Association for the Development of Education in Africa (ADEA—more specifically its Working Group on the Teaching Profession), the African Development Bank (ADB) and the Commonwealth Secretariat committed to work together on teacher policies. Towards this, a joint forum, 'Processes of Teacher Policy

Development’- with case studies from Angola, Congo, Guinea, Nigeria, South Africa and Tanzania- was held in Tunis in November 2008. In the Forum the diversity and commonalities of country experiences in the development of teacher policies was acknowledged. Commitment was made to the development of a Teacher Policy Development Toolkit to assist Member States in implementing holistic teacher policies. While it was originally envisioned that the Toolkit would comprise three main sections (a methodological guide for the analysis of teacher issues, a section on policy development processes including Policy Briefs in various areas and a section with reference documents), it was subsequently decided to focus on the methodological guide. The *Methodological Guide for the Analysis of Teacher Issues*, published in 2010 after a rigorous development, piloting (in Benin and Uganda), consultation, re-writing and validation process, addresses the general context of teacher needs, teacher education, teacher management (recruitment, deployment, absenteeism and attrition, teacher management), remuneration, status and careers and professional and social context. The guide, which has since become the central facet of TTISSA, aims to support Member States in undertaking an overall analysis of the situation of teachers in their countries towards developing appropriate teacher policies or revising existing ones.

Since the guide’s publication, the ongoing work on teacher policies has become central to the TTISSA support to SSA. To date, three SSA countries (Benin, Burundi and Lesotho) have completed a complete diagnostic of the teacher issue in their countries using the guide, while two others (Uganda and Guinea) have almost finished doing so and one country (Mozambique) is in the middle of the process. In all cases, the analysis undertaken is expected to inform the development or revision of teacher policy.

2.7 Teacher professional development

Teacher preparation and ongoing professional development are often considered the sole determinant in teacher quality. Research in developed countries does indeed highlight the importance of teacher training and ongoing professional development (Fullan, Shleicher, et al., 2007). However as the discussion in this chapter highlights, a range of issues have to be considered with regard to increasing the quantity and improving the quality of teachers. Teacher training has been shown in some instances to have a variable and not necessarily positive impact on student learning. Some studies suggest a positive correlation in some countries between teacher training and academic achievement of students, while others show a negative or non-significant correlation (Bernard, Tiyaab, and Vianou, 2004). The weak, and sometimes negative, impact of teacher training has in the past been viewed as a justification to shorten or eliminate teacher training (Lockheed and Verspoor, 1991). It may however be of more significance to consider this finding alongside other factors, not the least of which is the quality of the training provided. Quantitative studies such as the PASEC and the SACMEQ, which provide information on the length of training—as well as on its main components, e.g. the proportion of practical experience,

need to be complemented by other studies, some of which would deploy a more qualitative perspective. In this way, our understanding of the reality of teacher training will be enhanced, particularly with regard to factors such as the curriculum and programme structure, the experience and expertise of teacher trainers, the teaching methodology used and the balance between practical and theoretical elements of the programme. In SSA the students' overall experience in the Teacher Training Colleges, or the 'hidden curriculum', i.e. the way in which the trainees are treated by the tutors and the Principal, is likely to have an impact on their development as teachers. Experience and research show that teacher trainees in SSA teacher training colleges are treated not as developing young professionals, but are rather subject to teaching that is often didactic, with lectures on child-centred learning, as opposed to opportunities to experience themselves the strategies being advocated.

TTISSA worked also with academic institutions and other partners to better understand which elements of the teacher training experience may contribute to positively shaping teachers' behaviour and enhancing student learning. A critical analysis of teacher training is all the more warranted with the demands for alternative training models—including accelerated training and school-based and distance learning – in light of their potential to produce a larger supply of teachers. In many Francophone African countries for example, longer college-based training has been replaced by shorter courses. More than half of the teaching force surveyed had short (less than one year) pre-service education in Chad, Mauritania and Togo (where 84% of all teachers had training sessions lasting for three months or less). Academic entry level is also sometimes low, the most extreme case being Lesotho with 51% of sixth grade teachers having only completed primary school themselves. Professional and academic proficiency issues cannot be tackled separately; analysis of studies suggests that professional training does not have an impact unless there is a minimum of subject matter proficiency (Duthilleul and Allen, 2005). However, academic degrees only explain a small part of the differences in teachers' subject matter mastery in 14 different SSA countries (Bonnet, 2008). Beyond a certain threshold, professional behaviour, that is the teaching methodology, marking of work and feedback to students, seems to be the main determinant of teacher efficiency. This emphasises the need for a balanced approach in the academic and professional dimensions of a teacher training curriculum.

With regard to the modalities of teacher training, there has been increasing emphasis by Ministries and governments of SSA on the use of Open and Distance Learning (ODL) and ICTs for teacher training and education. IICBA and UNESCO's Regional Bureau for Education in Africa (BREDA) based in Dakar, for example, have both worked to build regional and national capacities in this area. Open and Distance Learning has often been seen as a panacea to address the problem of training large number of teachers while keeping them in the classroom. There are many examples of successful use of ODL; for example the national programme in Kenya, the School-based Teacher Development Programme (SbTD–1999 to date) has provided in-service training to over 100,000 teachers, and evalu-

ation indicates that the course has had a positive impact on the practice of the teachers in the classroom (Hardman, Abd-Kadir, et al., 2009). However the course is for trained teachers and comprises comprehensive, well-written material, appropriate assessment, and emphasises mainstreamed—at all levels—professional and administrative support structures (Pontefract, Kanja, et al., 2000). Studies of distance learning programmes for teachers, endorse this need for thorough planning and high quality materials (Robinson and Latcham, 2002). The use of ODL is not a short cut to training a large number of teachers quickly, but if well-designed and implemented, can support the professional development of teachers in a way which face-to-face training may not. It does enable teachers to start from where they are, and to reflect on their current practices and to try out new practices in their classroom. This approach, if well designed, can similarly emphasise the professional collaboration of teachers within the school and between schools (Pontefract conference 2011). However, the field would benefit from further studies which consider the impact of distance learning courses and compare and contrast this with that of traditional face-to-face courses.

Another approach of successful deployment of ODL is through the Open University UK Teacher Education for sub-Saharan Africa (TESSA) programme (www.tessafrica.net). Through this programme, online and printable teacher classroom materials have been developed. TESSA is working with teacher training institutions to help them to integrate the material into teacher training courses. Collaboration and information sharing between the TTISSA and TESSA programmes have been ongoing. TESSA funded the short-term secondment of an experienced teacher trainer from an African Ministry of Education to UNESCO HQ to develop a strategy for further strengthening the links between the two programmes.

One key challenge which TTISSA and those responsible for its implementation faced from the onset were the unrealistic expectations, particularly of Member States, as to the role TTISSA could play in training teachers in the region. The name of TTISSA obviously contributed to these high expectations, with its articulation of teacher training rather than a more holistic approach to teacher issues. The TTISSA programme was not able and was never intended to provide training, whether pre-service, in-service or a combination of both, to address all the needs identified. But even if it were, teacher training in and of itself would not have addressed the challenges faced by teachers in SSA. These challenges were articulated in the four main areas of the TTISSA Logical Framework (status and working conditions of teachers, teacher management and administration structures, teacher policies and quality and coherence of teacher professional development). However with regard to teacher training at the country level, TTISSA support can be and is given to teacher training in identified priority areas, such as literacy, mathematics and science but while ensuring that this support aligned with the overall strategic and holistic TTISSA outputs. Similarly TTISSA can support training of key cadres, such as Non-Formal Education (NFE) teachers; in collaboration with the UNESCO Literacy Initiative for Empowerment (LIFE) 14 studies on NFE teacher-related policies and practices in LIFE countries were

undertaken and the findings discussed in a LIFE-organised Capacity Building of Literacy Facilitators workshop.

At a more strategic level, TTISSA worked to create awareness and build capacity for the overall Quality Assurance (QA) in teacher education for both initial training and ongoing professional development. The need for harmonisation, standardisation and regionalisation is being given increased emphasis by Member States. Although there is a lot of activity with regard to QA in higher education, there has been little emphasis on QA in Teacher education. TTISSA has therefore supported the development of mechanisms and frameworks for QA in teacher education at global, regional and country levels. Again the importance of building on what exists and working with partners has been emphasised: with the Commonwealth of Learning (COL), the COL-UBEC (Universal Basic Education Commission)-UNESCO Joint Forum on Quality Assurance in Teacher Education in West Africa focused on the experiences in the West African region and drew on the experience of India's National Assessment and Accreditation Council (NAAC).

Following on from this a number of reviews were commissioned to assess current QA practices in teacher education and to determine the issues and challenges. One such challenge is the use of terminology, which is not always consistent and therefore can cause confusion, for example between the terms 'quality assurance', 'accreditation', 'standardisation' and 'national qualifications frameworks'.

A springboard for discussion on issues of Quality Assurance and teacher education was the Third Global Forum on International Quality Assurance, Accreditation and the Recognition of Qualifications and the Second International Conference on Quality Assurance in Africa, held in Dakar, Senegal, on 15–16 September 2008. Here, through sessions organised by TTISSA, teacher educators and policymakers in SSA benefitted from the experience of other regions such as the Arab States, the Caribbean and Europe. One key conclusion of the Forum was for African countries to develop QA frameworks and structures which are meaningful within their own contexts.

A TTISSA study on 'Quality Assurance in Teacher Education in sub-Saharan Africa: Assessment and perspectives' (Ottenwaelter, 2008) reiterated this. This study analyses QA practices in teacher education in SSA to encourage dialogue around the issues and foster the development of an appropriate strategy for QA in teacher education in Africa. The study considers the main international drivers in QA in higher education, underlining its historical development, the diverse and contextualised systems that exist and common principles, agreements and networks at both international and regional levels. An overview of QA in higher education in SSA is also provided and discusses the diversity of systems, regional and sub-regional cooperation agreements and the nature of support being provided. Within this context the main characteristics of QA in teacher education at the international level are highlighted and a comparative analysis of different systems under-

taken. The study concludes with some ideas for developing QA mechanisms for teacher education in Africa and suggestions as to the role of TTISSA in supporting this process.

This key study provided the basis for a TTISSA workshop (within the forum in Senegal on quality assurance in higher education in Africa in 2008) where the issues were discussed by a range of African policymakers and educators. A key achievement to date was awareness raising and strengthening of understanding of what quality assurance in teacher education in SSA means with a view of assisting policymakers and teacher trainers to develop an appropriate and workable model of QA.

2.8 Reflections and future implications

In the first few years of the TTISSA initiative, the holistic and strategic direction of the programme was established, based on research, analysis of data and dialogue with a range of stakeholders. TTISSA, from its onset, was successful in enhancing knowledge and understanding as to the issues confronting the teaching profession in SSA and in raising the profile of the profession. It contributed to a greater consensus among stakeholders that teacher issues are not only those of teacher training, but are also in relation to teacher status, working conditions, management, policy and their interrelationship. TTISSA further was key in raising awareness of the global UNESCO/ILO Recommendations and highlighting the rights and responsibilities of governments, teacher organisations and the teachers themselves. The Initiative facilitated high-level advocacy, research studies, collaboration with a diversity of partners, dissemination of key findings and their implications and lesson sharing.

Research has shown that although the teaching profession across SSA faces many similar challenges, there can be no ‘one size fits all’ solution. As such, that the work of TTISSA was key in helping countries to better understand their own contexts, to collect the most useful data and to analyse them within the framework of national, regional and global studies and frameworks.

Expectations as to the role of TTISSA in training the teachers of SSA were difficult to manage. As highlighted earlier, TTISSA could not, nor should it have been, responsible for large scale training of teachers; this remains the responsibility of UNESCO’s Member States. The Initiative was however able to have greater overall impact by contributing to the development of countries’ capacities to effectively manage their teaching forces. This was through understanding of the interrelationship of the issues which impact on the profession—issues of teacher status, management, policy and quality assurance and with regard to the modalities for training—such as Open and Distance Learning. Implementation of TTISSA benefitted from the comparative advantages of UNESCO as a UN agency with global responsibility for coordinating EFA and from the process of ensuring alignment with the key frameworks of the UN, EFA and the Paris Declaration. In this way

TTISSA played a strategic role in emphasising the importance of teachers to achieving quality education for all and served as a catalyst for innovation through sharing of lessons learned.

TTISSA however faced the challenge of limited human and financial resources and UNESCO's institutional complexity. It was important that the Initiative played to the potential strengths of decentralisation and harnessed the expertise of all arms of the organisation. A coordinated model of decentralisation was therefore vital to ensure that the Headquarters and Field Offices worked together to complement and strengthen the inputs. Working closely with other partners was also crucial, and the management of effective engagement with a range of stakeholders in a continuum of collaboration, from information sharing to joint efforts and partnerships, is not always easy but is indeed paramount. The experiences with collaboration and communication are not unique to TTISSA alone, but further highlight the need for constant and consistent dialogue, both internally and externally, so as to determine how to best adhere to agreed mandates and achieve consensus on anticipating and tackling potential barriers. This is particularly important with the tension between addressing the complexity of issues and the demand to get things moving quickly. TTISSA faced the challenges of keeping on track and operating strategically, meaning ensuring that funds deployed were in line with the overall strategic focus of the Initiative, while addressing the immediate priorities of target countries. In light of this more attention was paid to the TTISSA communications strategy, and various strands were developed, including a newsletter, brochure, concept note and new website.

In collaboration with other partners within and outside UNESCO, the argument for coherence and partnership with regard to teachers has been extended well beyond SSA. A short paper was presented to an International Advisory Panel in April 2008 in Tokyo; this reflected our experience of TTISSA and advocated for a global level TTISSA-like response to the challenges confronting the issues of quantity and quality of teachers. The paper highlighted the need for coherence and emphasised the interrelationship of the factors impacting on the teaching profession. From these initial discussions and through the strong leadership of Norway (which played host to the Eighth Meeting of the High Level Group for EFA in Oslo in December 2008) and UNESCO, there was agreement to establish a global alliance on teachers which would be charged with executing a global action plan. A Teacher Task Force for EFA has been established, with a dedicated Secretariat based at UNESCO. To date, the International Task Force on 'Teachers for Education For All' has grown to a constituency comprising more than 50 members that range from national governments representing different parts of the world to international NGOs, UN agencies and local civil society organisations.

The Task Force has capitalised on its broad membership to ensure extensive advocacy for the issue of Teachers for EFA, has organised Policy Dialogue Forums at the global and regional levels, has produced major studies, and is working on providing ad-hoc, country-level support to countries furthest away from the EFA goals and with the biggest teacher

gaps. That TTISSA set the stage for this major global initiative is a testament to the impact of the Initiative, in both sub-Saharan Africa and beyond—most specifically with regards to highlighting the importance of addressing teacher issues more holistically and strategically.

The drive towards UPE and the transformation of the teaching profession in French-speaking sub-Saharan Africa

Martial Dembélé and M'hammed Mellouki

3.1 Background

For many, in fact most, countries in sub-Saharan Africa (SSA), the drive towards universal access to quality primary education, first by 1990 (UNESCO, 1990) and then by 2015 (UNESCO, 2000a), has meant significantly increasing the size of their teaching staff while improving teacher quality. As shown in Table 3.1, it was established in 2002 that in order to achieve universal primary education (UPE), SSA would need 1,361,000 new teachers between 2000 and 2015, or an average annual increase of 3% (compared with 2% between 1985 and 2000). More recently, this figure was revised upward, to 1,634,400 new teachers, by the UNESCO Institute for Statistics (UIS, 2006). For French-speaking countries the challenge is even greater. They would need 687,000 new teachers, or an average annual increase of 4.1% (compared with 2.1% between 1985 and 2000).

Table 3.1

Increase in the number of public primary school teachers in sub-Saharan Africa (1985/2015)

Countries	Number of teachers (in 000)			Average annual increase (%)	
	1985	2000	2015	1985–2000	2000–2015
Anglophone countries	1,191	1,557	2,180	+1.8	+2.3
Francophone countries	601	825	1,512	+2.1	+4.1
Other countries	57	109	160	+4.4	+2.6
Total Africa	1,849	2,491	3,852	+2	+3

Source: BRED, World Bank, and UIS, 2002, p. 40.

This challenge poses a complex policy question: **How can the need to deploy large numbers of teachers be reconciled with ensuring financial sustainability?** In response, and with external pressure, the policy option of recruiting large numbers of teachers on a contract basis was put forward and adopted widely in the 1990s, particularly in Francophone countries. Up to this time, most of these countries had had a teaching staff composed almost exclusively of civil servants. The main rationale behind the contract teacher policy was that it helps to contain the teacher wage bill while still increasing access to primary education. This policy must also be understood in relation to one of the conditionalities of the structural adjustments programs—that is, a freeze on recruitment into public service or at least a drastic reduction in such recruitments. For the education sector, this conditionality was paradoxical, given the need to accelerate the expansion of access.

The contract teacher policy was initially considered a temporary measure, but its implementation has continued, and in several countries by the late 1990s and early 2000s contract teachers represented a significant proportion of the teaching force. To understand this situation and its implications for the quality of primary education and the dynamics of the teaching profession, the World Bank commissioned an exploratory study; this was undertaken in Burkina Faso, Mali, Niger and Senegal in 2004. It was also expected that the study would lead to proposals for changes in teacher education, management and working conditions in these countries.

3.2 Study questions and methodology

The study was guided by the following central question: In light of their economic, political, socio-demographic and educational situations, as well as the projected evolution of their teaching staff (in terms of both numbers and profiles), what improvements can *Burkina Faso, Mali, Niger and Senegal* reasonably make in their primary teacher education and management systems to achieve the objective of quality UPE by 2015? We operationalised this question as follows:

- Who are the primary school teachers in these countries? How were they recruited?
- How were/are they trained? And who are their trainers?
- How are they supervised and managed?
- What are the strengths and weaknesses of teacher education and management systems in these countries?
- What do key actors in each country suggest should be done to improve teacher education, management and support?

To answer these specific questions, four national case studies were conducted, each designed to gather and analyse comparable data on

1. the economic, socio-demographic and political context;
2. the primary education sub-system;
3. the socio-demographic, professional and pedagogical characteristics of teachers;
4. the teacher preparation and continuing professional development system;
5. the teacher management and supervision system.

Data were generated in each country through questionnaires and/or interviews with a wide spectrum of participants, including practicing teachers ($n = \pm 1,200$), prospective teachers ($n = \pm 300$), primary school directors ($n = \pm 200$), teacher educators, heads of teacher training colleges, school inspectors, pedagogical advisors, regional basic education leaders, central level educational administrators/policymakers, education specialists of bilateral and multilateral development agencies, leaders of teachers' unions and student parents' associations. Data gathering also involved producing a set of macro-economic and socio-demographic data tables ($n = 9$), and analysing teacher preparation programmes using a common protocol. In addition, we used a model to simulate the growth and operating costs of the primary education systems under study.

The study was conducted by a national team in each country, with technical assistance and coordination provided by a team of researchers put together by the Paul-Gérin-Lajoie Center for International Development in Education (CIPGL), based at the University of Quebec at Montreal. Martial Dembélé coordinated the whole endeavour, including production of the comparative synthesis report (Dembélé, Mellouki, et al., 2005).

3.3 Purpose of the chapter and analytical framework

Drawing on the national case studies (Fomba, Mallé, et al., 2004; Moussa and Galy, 2004; Paré-Kaboré and Ilboudo, 2004; Sow, Kane, et al., 2004) as well as on more recent data available, this chapter discusses the trends in the preparation and characteristics of primary school teachers in the four participating countries and thus seeks to contribute to the ongoing debate on the quality, status and professionalism of teachers and learning outcomes in developing countries. Interest in and concerns about teacher quality are motivated by both common sense and insights from research on teacher effect. This research has provided ample evidence of (1) the preponderance of teaching—and hence teachers—in student learning and educational success, and (2) the cumulative and residual nature of teacher effect (e.g., Gauthier and Dembélé, 2004; Gauthier, Bissonnette, et al., 2003; Scheerens, 2000; UNESCO, 2004b). The stakes are particularly high in SSA countries because there teacher effect on student learning has been reported to be greater than it is in high-income countries (Bernard, Tiyaab, and Vianou, 2004).

There is less certainty about the relationship between teacher quality and teacher status and working conditions. One thing that is certain, however, is that the dynamics and per-

formance of any social or professional group depend in large part on its composition, and understanding this composition is therefore intrinsically important. As far as professional groups, including the teaching profession, are concerned, analysts have traditionally taken into consideration modes of recruitment or entry routes, level of formal education, level of professional qualification, sex, age, length of service, attrition rate and status. With respect to professional groups, these traditional characteristics are often complemented by the following: reason(s) for choosing the profession, professional ambitions, salary according to status, gender or career grade and working conditions.

Each of these characteristics obviously has a particular significance, but they interact with one another. For instance, attrition rate—and, to some extent, average length of service—are indicators of a professional group's ability (or lack thereof) to retain its members. The average age denotes the relative youth or old age of a group. The fact that the majority in a group are young can be associated with lack of collective experience or, on the contrary, with a certain vitality. If a group is of a relatively high average age, this can be associated with an important capital of collective experience or, on the contrary, with a need for renewal. As Lortie pointed out several decades ago in his seminal sociological study of teachers,

[a]ny occupation which fails to recruit new members will not survive. It is less apparent, however, that the way an occupation fits into the competitive recruitment system will affect its social composition and its inner life. . . . To draw in new members, an occupation must possess certain 'inner resources'. . . . Recruitment resources consist of the properties which assist an occupation in competing for manpower and talent. There are two major types of resources: attractors and facilitators. The first consists of comparative benefits (and costs) proffered to would-be entrants; it includes money, prestige and power and the psychic attractions of the occupational tasks. The second set of resources is less commonly noted; it rests on social mechanisms which help people move into the work. (Lortie, 1975, pp. 25–26)

With respect to gender, it is worth noting that some professional groups have the reputation of being male- or female-dominated and are therefore more-or-less closed to the other gender as a result of explicit or implicit 'protectionism', because of the job's conditions and requirements, or due to their inability to attract applicants as a result of low social prestige. In most industrialised countries teaching staff, in particular at primary level, is female-dominated. The situation is the opposite in SSA, where efforts are being made to increase female presence among teachers and thus to promote access to girls' and their success and retention. But we know that managing female teachers poses special challenges relating to their gendered roles in society. In this respect, increasing the number of female teachers has important implications for management.

Given the purpose of this chapter and to the extent that it influences the other characteristics, we will pay particular attention to status. As discussed below, it is around this characteristic that the transformation of the teaching profession has taken place in

the countries that participated in our study. This discussion is guided by the important and useful distinction drawn by the OECD (2005) between two basic models of teacher employment (while noting that no country is a pure case of either model): career-based and position-based.¹

In a career-based system teachers are expected to remain in public service throughout their working life. Entry normally occurs at a young age, based on academic credentials and/or examinations; promotion follows a well-defined path of seniority and other requirements; and assignments to teaching positions follow principles and procedures of bureaucratic deployment rather than being at the discretion of local school administrators. France, Japan, Korea and Spain are countries where such a career-based system is dominant. Low-income countries that were formerly French colonies have typically attempted to maintain such a system.

Under this system, there are generally no problems of teacher supply. The cases cited by OECD tend to have more applicants than openings. However, there are some questions about quality associated with this approach. According to the report, in such a system,

... teacher education is not well connected to school needs, the entry selection criteria do not always emphasize the competencies needed for effective teaching, teachers lack strong incentives to continue developing once tenure is obtained, and the strong emphasis on regulations limits the capacity and incentives for schools to respond to diverse local needs. There are also concerns that such systems lack appeal to those who are unsure whether they want to commit early to a lifetime teaching career or who have gained experience in other careers. (OECD, 2005, p. 11)

In position-based systems teachers are hired not via the national civil service or even a separate national teacher service, but into particular teaching positions within an unpredictable career-long progression of assignments. Access therefore tends to be more open to applicants of various ages and from different career backgrounds. Movement into and out of the teaching career in order to raise children or pursue other opportunities is facilitated. Salary schedules tend to be flatter than in the career-based system, starting out higher but then levelling off in the early years of the career. Selection for these positions is typically decentralised, with schools or local education authorities responsible for hiring teachers. Canada, Sweden, Switzerland and the United Kingdom are examples of countries where this model is dominant. One disadvantage of position-based systems is that they often have difficulty recruiting sufficient numbers of teachers, especially in areas like science and mathematics, where there are attractive opportunities in other occupations. There may also be a high turnover, especially in less advantaged areas, and difficulties in retaining highly experienced teachers. In such systems, it may not be worthwhile to invest

¹We draw substantially on Schwille and Dembélé (2007, pp. 39-40) to summarise the two models of teacher employment described.

so much in specialised initial teacher preparation, since the system may not realise the return on this investment if those who receive this preparation fill teaching positions only briefly and then go on to choose other occupations.

High turnover and difficulties in retaining highly experienced teachers must be of particular concern given the time it generally takes for an individual to complete the initial phases of teaching—that is, a period of survival and discovery (the first two or three years), followed by a period of stabilisation and consolidation of a pedagogical repertoire (fourth to sixth years). The latter phase is usually characterised by a key event: namely, definite or durable commitment to the profession.

While this commitment may not hold true for the rest of one's life, it usually carries a sustaining power of at least eight to ten years. . . . the stabilization period has other meanings. For example, it is typically at the stage that one comes to feel independent, while joining a guild of colleagues. . . . Stabilization also relates to pedagogical mastery. It is during this stage that a sense of minimal consolidation is attained. . . . One is less preoccupied with oneself and much more concerned with instructional matters. Greater spontaneity helps address unpredictable and unexpected situations. Gradually, teachers consolidate, then begin to refine a basal repertoire. (Huberman, 1993, p. 6)

The stabilisation phase is followed by a long period (years 7–25) of diversification, experimentation and reassessment as modal phases. It is during this long period that one attains professional maturity, which is shown by the following indicators: attempts to increase one's impact in the classroom; embarking on a series of personal experiments by diversifying one's instructional materials, methods of evaluation, modes of grouping students, or instructional sequences; a heightened awareness of instructional factors blocking one's impact in the classroom; confronting more boldly those aberrations of the system that reduce this impact but were previously unseen or taken as given; pursuit of administrative responsibilities; becoming involved in professional activities beyond one's classroom and school, e.g. district curriculum committees or collective action (Huberman, 1993, pp. 7–8 and 245). In a career that can span up to 40 years, it takes 5–10 years to reach this maturity. It is therefore critical to help and ensure that new teachers successfully pass through the initial two phases.

In the rest of the chapter, and in light of the foregoing, we first describe the evolution of the primary teaching force and concurrent changes in teacher preparation in the four countries in recent years. We then examine the various effects of contract teacher recruitment policies and close with some cues for action and reflection.

3.4 Evolution of the primary teaching force in the four countries

3.4.1 Overall increases

As can be seen in Table 3.2, there was a steady increase in the number of primary school teachers in all four countries between 1997/1998 and 2002/2003. The teacher stock was more than doubled in Mali, recording an average annual increase of 18.3%, and it was nearly doubled in Niger, with an average annual increase of 12.1%. Burkina Faso and Senegal recorded the same average annual increase (6.3%), but the overall increase in Senegal was greater than in Burkina Faso (43% and 35%, respectively). This growth trend has continued after 2002/2003, as can be seen in Figure 3.1.²

Table 3.2

Increase in the number of public primary school teachers in Burkina Faso, Mali, Niger and Senegal (1997/1998 to 2002/2003)

Year	Burkina Faso	Mali	Niger	Senegal
1997/1998	16,724	10,852	11,142	18,001
1998/1999	16,660	11,347	12,428	19,497
1999/2000	17,435	15,395	13,694	21,052
2000/2001	19,007	17,624	14,998	20,081
2001/2002	20,776	20,635	17,749a	22,454
2002/2003	22,664	25,166	19,746b	25,816
Total increase	5,940	14,314	8,604	7,815
Average annual increase	6.3%	18.3%	12.1%	6.3%

Source: Dembélé, Mellouki, et al., 2005.

^aIncluding 68 community teachers. ^bIncluding 105 community teachers.

3.4.2 Accounting for the differences in overall and annual average increases

Figure 3.2 shows that the greater increases in Mali, Niger and Senegal between 1997 and 2003 are essentially due to the massive recruitment of contract teachers. The figure also shows that Burkina Faso caught up thereafter, and for the same reason.

² We are grateful to the principal investigator of each country case study for supplying data for 2006/2007 upon request.

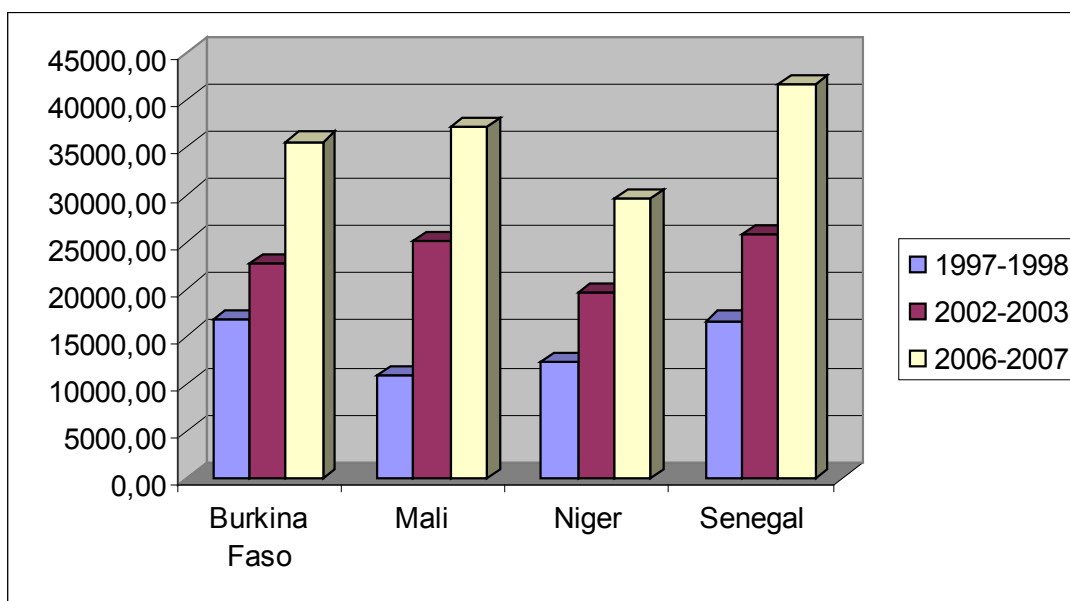


Figure 3.1 Increase in the number of public primary school teachers in Burkina Faso, Mali, Niger and Senegal (1997/1998 to 2006/2007)

Among the four countries, Senegal has the longest history of contract teacher policy. Implementation began in 1994 with the recruitment of volunteers, which became the only route into teaching from 2000 on. It is noteworthy that pressure from the volunteers' association led the government to create a category of *contractuels*. Between 1994 and 2002, the transition from volunteer to contractual lasted four years (reduced to three

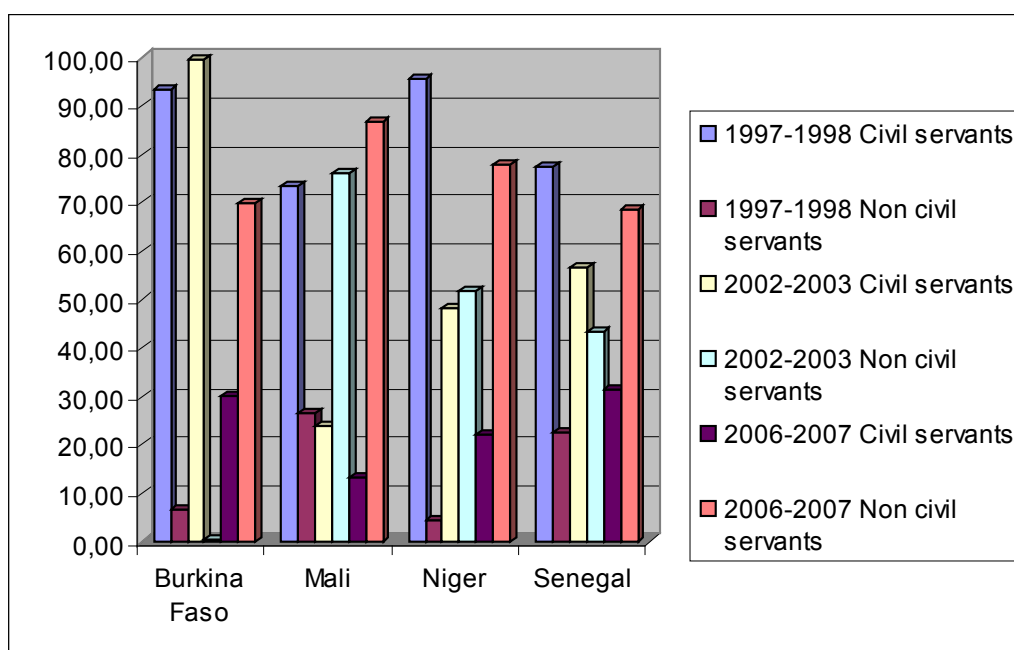


Figure 3.2 Distribution of primary school teachers (%) by status in Burkina Faso, Mali, Niger and Senegal (1997/1998 to 2006/2007)

years in October 2002) and was conditional on successfully passing a professional examination; as of 2003 it became accessible automatically after two years of volunteering. Another concession eventually made by the government was the creation of an annual quota system whereby a fixed number of *contractuels* are integrated into the civil service after passing a professional examination.

3.4.3 Main characteristics of contract teachers and concurrent changes in teacher preparation

Given the growing proportions of contract teachers, their characteristics deserve attention, as this undoubtedly affects the social composition and inner life of the professional group of which they have become members. The data that were gathered in this study indicate overall that a significant number of the new recruits have either not gone through the regular professional preparation or have received a shorter preparation when compared with their civil service counterparts, particularly in Mali and Niger; they also have (1) relatively lower academic credentials at entry (except in Senegal); (2) less certain or no career prospects; and (3) much lower salaries except in Burkina Faso (as shown in Table 3.3), and/or fewer fringe benefits.

Table 3.3 calls for at least two observations: (1) teachers' remuneration, regardless of status, is on average higher in the four participating countries than the average in the 11 Francophone countries studied by Mingat (2004); (2) among the four countries, Burkina Faso and Mali are, respectively, the most and the least generous with their contract teachers as compared with civil servants. As Mingat argued, whereas a high salary has a negative effect on access, a salary that is too low results in difficulties recruiting teachers with the desired qualifications and retaining them, especially in challenging areas. Low salary may, in addition, generate behaviours that are inappropriate for the quality of educational services, such as absenteeism, lack of interest in the job, moonlighting, and so on. We return to this below.

Changes in teacher status (and remuneration) have also been accompanied by concurrent changes in pre-service teacher education, the most significant being the reduction of programme duration. As is shown in Table 3.4, in both Burkina Faso and Niger preparation time has been reduced to one year (from two or even three years). The most drastic change has occurred in Senegal, where pre-service teacher education was reduced to only three months in 1994, though it was increased to six months in 2000. In Mali the four-year and two-year programmes have been maintained, but a direct recruitment scheme called *Stratégie alternative de recrutement du personnel enseignant* has been created. Known by its French acronym SARPE, this scheme consists of a 45-day training programme offered in district education offices instead of the regular teacher training colleges, followed by a period of supervised student teaching.

Table 3.3

Remuneration of primary school teachers according to status (times GNP per capita)

Country	Year	Civil servants	State contract teachers	Parents' teachers
Benin	2002	5.2	2.1	1.3
Burkina Faso	2002	5.8	5.6	2.2
Cameroon	2002	5.3	1.4	0.8
Chad	2002	8.2	—	2.3
Congo	2003	2.4	0.9	0.6
Côte d'Ivoire	2001	4.8	—	—
Guinea	2000	3.5	1.1	—
Mali	2000	5.8	1.5	0.9
Niger	2000	8.9	3.5	—
Senegal	2003	5.7	2.6	—
Togo	2001	6.4	3.3	1.3
Average		5.6 (6.55) ^a	2.4 (3.3)	1.3 (1.55)

Source: Mingat, 2004.

Note: The shading for the four participating countries added by the authors, highlighting from the largest salary gap between contract teachers and their civil service counterparts (Mali) to the smallest gap (Burkina Faso).

^a() = Added by the authors, plus colour shades highlighting the four participating countries, from the largest salary gap between contract teachers and their civil service counterparts (Mali) to the smallest gap (Burkina Faso).

The changes described above (status, salary treatment and duration of professional preparation) are in keeping with the rationale behind the massive recruitment of contract teachers—namely, to contain costs while increasing teacher supply and thereby increase access to primary education. The *a posteriori* attempt to provide a pedagogical/evidence-based rationale for this policy is yet to convince its critics.

There remain many unresolved controversies about formal teacher preparation, including how much of it is necessary and what kind it should be (Schwille and Dembélé, 2007). The *EFA Global Monitoring Report 2005* comments upon its value as follows:

Available data suggest that large proportions of primary school teachers lack adequate academic qualifications, training and content knowledge, especially in developing countries. This suggests that much pre-service training may be ineffective. (UNESCO, 2004b, p. 108)

Table 3.4

Overview of pre-service primary teacher education systems in Burkina Faso, Mali, Niger and Senegal (2002/2003)

	Burkina Faso		Niger	Sénégal
Official admission level	BEPC (end of lower secondary, i.e., 10 yrs of schooling)	DEF (9 years of schooling) or Baccalauréat (end of high school)	BEPC or Baccalauréat	BFEM or any other equivalent or higher academic credential
Selection mode	National test (or, for private candidates, review of application materials or in-house test)	National test	National test (or, for private candidates, academic credential)	National test (or in-house test for private candidates)
Programme duration	1 year (since 2002)	Since 1992, 4 years (with DEF), 2 years (with Bac); and, more recently 90 days (for SARPE recruits)	1 year (since 2000 and 1986, respectively, for BEPC and Bac holders)	6 months (since 2000, from 3 months in 1994)
Institutional context of training	ENEP (5 total), <i>écoles d'application</i> (lab schools) and ordinary primary schools or primary lab schools	IFM (8 total) and <i>écoles d'application</i> (primary lab schools); District education offices (70 total) or regional education offices (11 total)	ENI (5 total) and ordinary primary schools or primary lab schools	EPI (8 total) and primary lab schools
Training modality	Residential	Residential (for IFM) and mixed (for SARPE)	Residential	Residential
Instructors	Primary education inspectors and pedagogical advisors and a few secondary school teachers	Primarily secondary school teachers (graduates of the I'ENS)	Fully certified primary school teachers, pedagogical advisors, graduate of general higher education	In general, elementary or pre-school inspectors
Certification	Diploma of end of studies at ENEP (not a teaching certificate)	IFM diploma (a teaching certificate)	Teacher education certificate (<i>Certificat de fin d'études normales</i>)	End-of-training attestation (<i>Attestation de fin de formation</i> : not a formal teaching certificate)
Total enrolment	4,171	8,002	3,583a	2,500b
Annual output of new teachers	2,400c	1,029	2,736d	2,500

^a2003/2004 data, including 1,083 private candidates. ^bIncluding private candidates (12%). ^cIncluding 400 private candidates.

^dAverage of last three years.

The report goes on to say that “the proportion of new primary-school teachers meeting national standards has actually been falling in several countries” (UNESCO, 2004b, p. 109). A report on teachers’ performance in relation to teachers’ occupational characteristics in nine French-speaking African countries framed this issue a little more cautiously, based on teacher data gathered between 1995 and 2001 by the *Programme d’analyse des systèmes éducatifs* of the conference of ministers of education of all French-speaking countries (PASEC).

PASEC studies reached the conclusion that formal teacher preparation often has little effect. In cases where effects are documented, they are generally moderate and sometimes do not match expectations. In fact, in most cases, it was found that teachers without formal preparation helped students learn as much as students taught by teachers with formal preparation. . . . Some people concluded somewhat hastily from this finding that formal teacher preparation is not a cost-effective investment and that one could therefore opt for very short preservice programs and not spend important amounts of money in long programs. To the contrary, we believe that these studies should instead raise questions that would lead to desired changes in teacher preparation practices. As a matter of fact, the question of the relevance of existing programs should be posed to trigger analysis of training programs (content, duration, etc.) in a large number of countries. (Bernard, Tiyaab, and Vianou, 2004, p. 18)

Schwille and Dembélé put this differently, as follows:

Our analysis suggests a middle course, consisting of rigorous intolerance for the dysfunctional and wasteful aspects of teacher education, accompanied by optimism and advocacy based on knowledge of how teacher education could be improved. We agree with the critics who say that merely studying texts of educational psychology and the like and answering questions about their content is unacceptable. Close examination of current practices in many institutions will no doubt reveal other unacceptable practices as well. One can also deplore the fact that too many future teachers are not held to any substantial standards of competence and understanding before being endorsed as ready to teach. But it is equally unacceptable, as a general practice (i.e. absent special circumstances or urgent shortages), for students to become practising teachers without a well-organized programme of preparation based on principles and practices that have proved their worth in research and/or exemplary programmes. (Schwille and Dembélé, 2007, pp. 125–126)

3.4.4 The effects of contract teacher recruitment policies on selected education indicators

The data available (see Figure 3.3) show that there were significant gains in terms of gross enrolment ratios (GER) between 1998/1999 and 2001/2002 in all four countries, with the exception of Burkina Faso, where the GER practically stagnated and where the contract teacher policy was introduced much later as part of a general reform of public administration (see more on this below). According to Bernard, Tiyaab, and Vianou (2004), in Niger, for example, an estimated 270,000 additional children were able to attend school in 2002

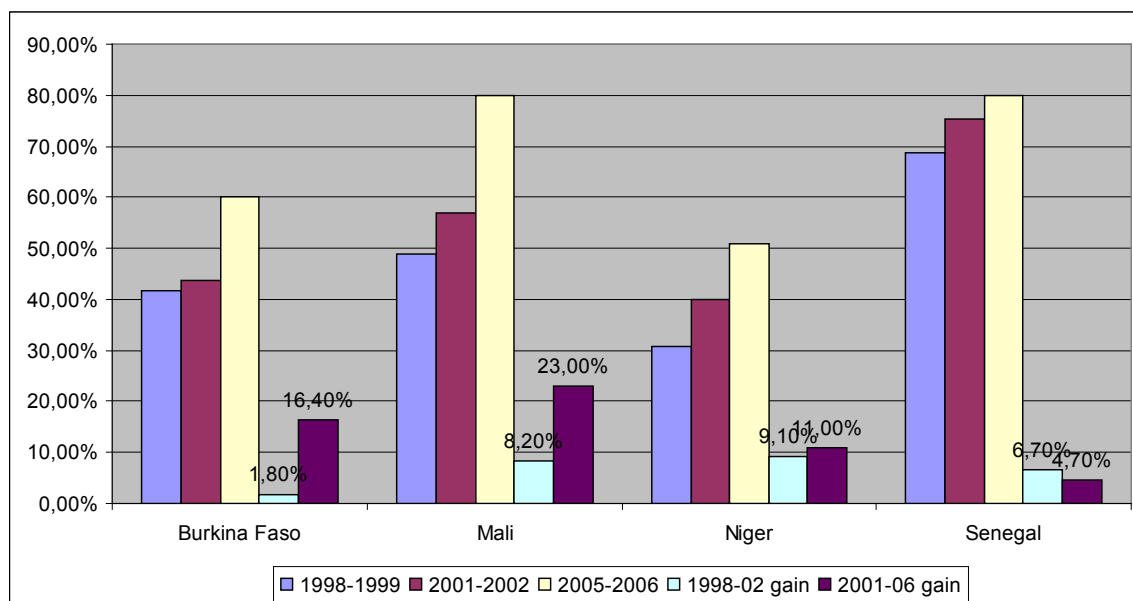


Figure 3.3 Evolution of GER in Burkina Faso, Mali, Niger and Senegal (1998/1999–2005/2006)

as a result of the hiring of contract teachers. This represents almost 50% more children in education than would have been possible otherwise. In Mali, in 2003, the corresponding figure is 230,000 children.

For countries that had been lagging behind for decades with respect to access to primary education, the quantitative gains attributed to contract teacher recruitment policies are welcome. There is, however, uncertainty or even controversy about quality indicators. Strikingly, according to our data, among the four countries, Burkina Faso is the one where the traditional quality indicator—that is, pass rate in end-of-primary school examination—was the highest in 2002/2003: 70%, compared with 58.6% in Mali, 49.3% in Niger and 49.2% in Senegal. In addition, the net enrolment rate dropped by 0.3% in Senegal between 1998/1999 and 2001/2002—a drop attributed to high grade repetition rates by the authors of the national case study. Finally, Burkina Faso is one of the two countries to have recorded the most significant average drop in grade repetition between 1998/1999 and 2002/2003: –3%. Niger, the other country, recorded a drop of –3.2%.

Teacher status is reported by Bernard, Tiyaab, and Vianou (2004) as not having a preponderant role in the quality of primary education. In light of the above, however, it seems legitimate to hypothesise that the massive recruitment of contract teachers (with the characteristics outlined earlier) may do little to improve quality. The first conference on non-civil service teachers in French-speaking sub-Saharan Africa was less tentative in this respect. (The conference was organised by the Association for the Development of Education in Africa in partnership with the World Bank and Education International and was held in Bamako, on 21–23 November 2004; participating countries included Benin,

Burkina Faso, Cameroon, Chad, [the Republic of the] Congo, Madagascar, Mali, Mauritania, Niger, Senegal and Togo.) While recognising that the use of contract teachers has helped the countries that took this path to make significant progress in enrolment, participants agreed that recourse to such teachers undoubtedly entails risks for the quality of education and for staff retention and effectiveness.

It may be too soon to judge the effects of *contractualisation* (whatever form it takes) on the quality of education. But there are observable effects on the teaching profession, including its composition and attractiveness and on teacher retention and management.

3.5 Effects of contract teacher recruitment policies on the teaching profession

3.5.1 On the composition of the teaching force

The most visible effect of contract teacher policies is the segmentation of the teaching force by status. As already indicated, the overall and average annual increases in the numbers of primary school teachers in Mali, Niger and Senegal can be attributed primarily to the massive recruitment of non-civil service teachers. In Mali, in just three years (1997/1998 to 2002/2003), the proportions of civil servant and non-civil service teachers were simply reversed, with the latter growing from 26.6% to 76.2%. In Niger, from a mere 4.6% in 1997/1998, non-civil service teachers represented 51.8% of the primary teaching force in 2002/2003. Finally, in Senegal, the proportion of civil servants declined by 20.8% during the same period, from 77.6% to 56.8%.

We had projected that non-civil service teachers would form the majority of the primary teaching staff in Senegal as of 2007 if this trend was maintained. This projection proved right, as the proportion of civil servants dropped to 31.6% in 2008. The other countries experienced the same upward trend in the proportion of non-civil service teachers. In Mali and Niger, the 2006/2007 figures are 86.67% and 77.8%, respectively. Burkina Faso caught up rapidly, with contract teachers accounting for 68.4% of the teaching force in 2006/2007, from 6.8% and 0.6%, respectively, in 1997/1998 and 2002/2003. This is the result of the general reform of public administration in this country. The reform in question was adopted in 1998 and became effective as of 2001. Its key feature is that all new government recruits (not just primary school teachers) are *contractuels*, with the exception of state strategic sectors such as the military and magistrates. Contractuals do not have lifetime job security, but they do have a career plan and enjoy the same social protection benefits as their civil service counterparts (health insurance, retirement, etc.). This country thus has a more moderate version of contractualisation, one that may be a source of inspiration for others. Despite its limitations, the Senegal model (described earlier) is worth looking at.

Contractualisation has had some less visible, yet equally important effects. These include:

- *An apparent association between age and status*, at least in Mali and Senegal, the two countries for which we have comparable data on civil servants versus non-civil servants. The average age of these countries' civil service teachers (45 and 40, respectively) is much higher than that of their non-civil service teachers (32 and 33.5, respectively). In Mali, in particular, what we have is close to a generational gap (13 years) between the two categories of teachers. The gap in Senegal is smaller but important: 6.5 years.
- *An apparent association between status and number of years of teaching experience*. Niger's civil service teachers are, on average, younger than their counterparts in Mali and Senegal (31 years); conversely, they have eight years less experience on average than the latter. (The relative youth of Niger's civil service teachers is probably due to the policy, in force since 1998, of mandatory retirement after 30 years of service—even if this comes before the official retirement age of 55.) As shown in Figure 3.4, in Mali and Senegal civil service teachers are, on average, four times and almost three times, respectively, more experienced than are their non-civil service colleagues. The latter have about the same number of years of experience, whereas Malian civil service teachers are 8 years more experienced than are their Senegalese counterparts.
- *A mixed impact on teachers' general education level*: little in Mali, negative in Niger and positive in Senegal.
- *A negative impact on teachers' professional qualifications* in Niger and in Mali.

Contract teacher policies had not been in force long enough when this study was conducted to allow one to draw conclusions regarding the significance of these less visible

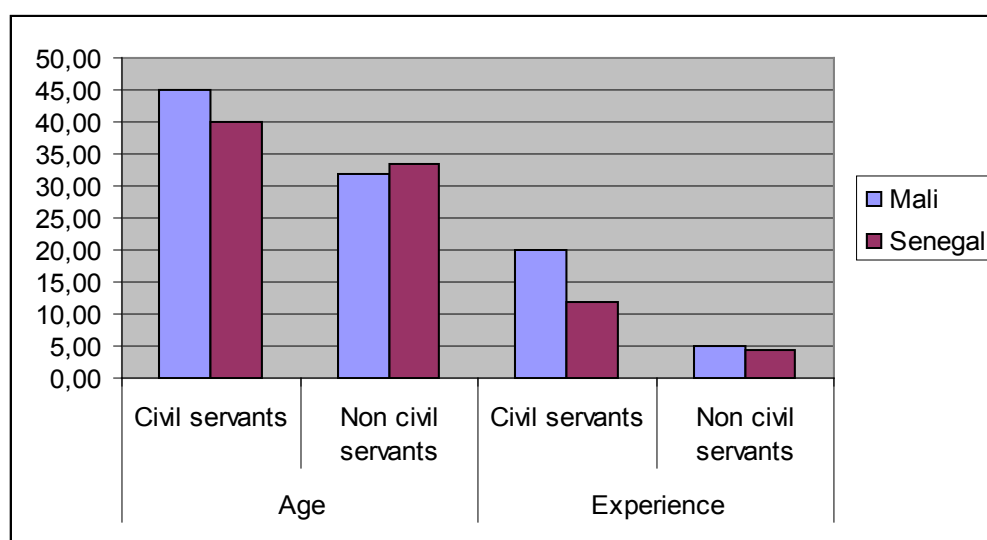


Figure 3.4 Average age and number of years of experience of primary school teachers by status in Mali and Senegal (2002/2003)

effects. They do certainly affect the social composition of the teaching profession in the countries in question, and most probably its internal dynamics, particularly where salary gaps between contractuels and civil servants are striking (Mali, Niger and Senegal).

3.5.2 On the attractiveness of the teaching profession and teacher retention

Given that contract teachers have uncertain or even no career prospects in Mali, Niger and, to a lesser extent, Senegal, the fundamental question that must be raised has to do with their retention: How long will they stay in teaching? And if they do stay, how motivated will they be?

There are no definitive answers to this question, but our survey data suggest that the lack of stability is a concern. According to Sow, Kane, et al. (2004, p. 46), “attrition is rather rare and overall marginal among contract teachers in Senegal, contrary to a widespread opinion”. However, they continue by stating that the consequences of the recruitment level are showing, namely through the higher aspirations of high school and university graduates who have been recruited as non–civil servants. This assertion is supported by student teachers’ responses to a survey question regarding their aspirations and career prospects.

Over 50 per cent do not wish to stay in primary teaching and more than 70 per cent would like to teach at another level [i.e. secondary]. These figures suggest that the respondents have generally higher aspirations (no doubt due to their academic level) but also a disposition to have a career in teaching if [certain conditions are met]. Their responses to items such as pedagogical responsibilities, administrative responsibilities, etc., only confirm this attitude (Sow, Kane, et al., 2004, p. 50–51)

Teacher attrition seems to be a problem in Mali and in Niger, even though the case studies do not give an indication of the scope of the problem. In Mali’s case report, one can read:

Instability is a key characteristic of contract teachers. They very often disappear without a trace as soon as another job opportunity comes by. Whether they are recruited by the State or by local authorities, contract teachers are a volatile and precarious group. Their instability was vehemently decried not only by the heads of school districts and regional offices of education but also by the international technical and financial partners (e.g. Care Mali, The World Bank, Plan International and others) who support Mali’s education development efforts. According to them, teacher attrition is due, among others, to low salaries, the decline of teachers’ social status, the loss of prestige of teaching as a profession, and the fact that contract teachers have no career plan (Fomba, Mallé, et al., 2004, p. 85).

In Niger, the researchers reported that the Regional Directors of Basic Education have little difficulty managing the professional files of tenured teachers—that is, civil servants. Managing contract teachers is a much more difficult task because of their lack of stability, which, according to the regional directors, is due to the fact that these teachers are in a

precarious situation, and to delays in payment of their stipends (Moussa and Galy, 2004, p. 47).

3.6 Discussion and suggestions for action and reflection

In relation to the two models for managing teacher employment described earlier in this chapter, the situation in Burkina Faso, Mali, Niger and Senegal can be summarised as follows: There was a dominance of the career-based model during the first three decades of these countries' independence. Since the 1990s, what prevails in these countries is a problematical co-existence of this model and a contractualisation model (which is not entirely a position-based model), with a clear trend towards the dominance of the latter. On a continuum of radical to moderate contractualisation models, Mali and Niger stand at the radical end, Senegal in the middle and Burkina Faso at the moderate end.

The widespread recruitment of contract teachers (with or without formal preparation) has undoubtedly helped increase access to primary education, as expressed in terms of gross enrolment in Mali, Niger, Senegal and, more recently, Burkina Faso. Based on the data presented in this chapter, one can, however, raise questions about the consequences of such teacher recruitment policies on the quality of education and the dynamics of the teaching profession. In particular, one must be worried about higher attrition rates among contract teachers compared with their civil service counterparts, as this may lead to a situation where youth and relative inexperience are constant characteristics of the teaching force. One must be further worried if youth and relative inexperience are, in addition, associated with lower academic credentials and professional qualifications, given research evidence (1) that there is a strong link between teacher subject matter knowledge and student achievement, and (2) that teacher effect is both cumulative and residual. Also, in light of Huberman's (1993) work noted above, it is arguable that a situation characterised by youth and relative inexperience will result in a lack of cumulative experience, which, in turn, hinders the attainment of professional maturity and limits the development of collective expertise. It becomes difficult in such a situation to envisage how novices can be well mentored by more experienced colleagues, especially in contexts where there is little or no support from mid-level staff in decentralised units (i.e. pedagogical advisers and inspectors), as is the case in the countries participating in this study. In such circumstances, one can be sceptical about making school-based teacher preparation programmes—which are gaining in prominence—work well.

For policymakers and planners, the foregoing calls for at least four actions, among others:

- **Clarifying the terms of co-existence of the two models** by answering the following policy questions: What appropriate balance can be made between the two models? More specifically, what proportion of contract teachers is a desirable number? It appears that these questions were not considered (or were ignored) during policy formulation—so much so

that national authorities in Mali, Niger and Senegal were somehow caught off guard vis-à-vis the rapid growth of the contract teacher category.

- **Ensuring that there is stability and the accumulation of collective expertise in the teaching force.** This requires *very close monitoring of the evolution of the teaching force*, not just in one's own country but in other similar countries, to see what improvements have proved feasible in the face of familiar difficulties and challenges.

Governments need [in particular] to keep a careful eye on attrition rates in order to properly evaluate the hidden costs of the loss of teachers (and especially para-teacher programmes, where higher than average attrition rates may not be factored into cost-benefit analyses). By reducing attrition rates by a single percentage point, some countries could secure enough teachers to significantly reinforce the capacity to achieve UPE. In these cases, monetary incentives to keep effective teachers within the profession would cost less than training large waves of new recruits. (UIS, 2006, p. 101)

It is by retaining effective, experienced teachers that one can ensure the accumulation of collective expertise in the profession. This expertise contributes to enhancing student learning both directly and indirectly through the quality mentoring that newcomers to the profession receive by design or informally.

- **Ensuring career development possibilities for contract teachers.** Contractualisation without career prospects ought to be considered a dead end. The model that Burkina Faso has adopted is a source of inspiration in this respect; so is Senegal's, to some extent. Worth mentioning also are the policy frameworks drafted in July 2007 during the follow-up workshop of the Bamako 2004 conference:³ (1) a framework for the initial training and continuing professional development of contract teachers; and (2) a framework establishing career paths, opportunities for advancement, guarantees of social protection, and the rights and obligations of contract teachers. These frameworks are important because they comprise the institutional and normative elements that shape teachers' identities and upon which they draw in their daily work. Weakening or abolishing any of these elements has consequences for the others and for the overall framework of teachers' work.
- **Improving pre-service teacher education** instead of either reducing its length to a point where it is difficult to do anything worth while or abandoning it altogether because of its alleged or documented ineffectiveness and related costs. This is all the more important as the attainment of UPE will ultimately depend on the development of education in rural and hard-to-reach areas; pre-service education may be the only structured professional learning opportunity for most teachers posted in such areas. Guinea's primary teacher education reform may be a source of inspiration for this (Bah, Diané, et al., 2004). An analysis of this reform and other accelerated or alternative models (with particular attention to entry level, pool of potential candidates, salary level and motivation) should help to

³A stock-taking conference (Bamako +5) in October 2009, open not only to other Francophone countries but also to Anglophone and Lusophone countries, provided a continent-wide picture of the contract teacher phenomenon.

identify what improvements can be made. The initial professional education of primary school teachers in sub-Saharan Africa certainly cannot continue to be “perceived as an extension of secondary education, only loosely connected to rural classroom conditions and practice” (Verspoor, 2001, p. 39). This means that many countries need to re-evaluate their programmes.

3.7 Concluding thoughts

We concur with the UNESCO Institute for Statistics that

[t]he principle that quantity and quality of education should not be compromised is an important one. Yet the challenges and hardships faced by countries with greatest need to expand teaching forces, found in Central, West and East Africa, cannot be underestimated. . . . the quantity and quality of education in these countries has already been compromised: this is not the place to start hurdling [sic] towards ambitious goals but to lay the foundations for progressive improvements. In fact, since 2000 progress is palpable in countries like Burkina Faso and Niger, but sustaining this movement will constitute a significant achievement. (UIS, 2006, pp. 100–101)

We hope that the actions that we have suggested above can help sustain the movement in question. This is particularly important in a context of ruthless globalisation. The critical conditions for surviving in this context and breaking the vicious cycle of dependence include solid foundations as well as deeper and stronger roots laid or nurtured early on—that is, in primary schools, or even earlier. We must bear in mind that today’s primary school students are tomorrow’s teachers and professionals in other development sectors! Focus on primary education, however, should not preclude attention to other levels of the education system, lest poor educational quality is reproduced in a never-ending cycle.

4

No more cutting class: reducing teacher absence and providing incentives for performance

F. Halsey Rogers and Emiliana Vegas

4.1 Teacher absence

The presence of a teacher in the classroom is essential for achieving Education For All (EFA) goals. The quality of education is affected if the teacher is absent: If students are just doing ‘busy work’ (just being kept occupied with work that is neither constructive nor productive) or playing in the schoolyard, little learning is likely to take place. Poor-quality education may discourage parents from making the sacrifices necessary to send their children to school, and therefore educational access and school completion rates will be affected. More importantly, high rates of teacher absence often signal deeper problems of accountability and governance that are themselves barriers to educational progress.

This chapter reviews the issue of teacher absence for education policymakers and researchers. First, it explores what is known about the extent of the problem and its causes; it then suggests some possible approaches to reducing teacher absenteeism by improving incentives and support for teachers. We should note at the outset that in both cases—teacher absence and incentives—rigorous evidence has only recently become available. Still, what there is is already sufficient to show that teacher absence is a serious problem in some countries and regions, but that governments can tackle it through their policies and programmes.

4.1.1 How prevalent is the problem of teacher absence?

This question is not easy to answer. One difficulty in studying teacher absence is that administrative records of teachers’ attendance may not be accurate, even in well-run school systems. A teacher may come to school but have to leave early to deal with a family emergency, for example, and even if a colleague covers, the absence may not be

entered in the log book. In countries with the highest rates of absence, administrative records may be a poor guide to actual teacher attendance. If poor governance and low levels of accountability undermine teachers' incentives to attend school, they are likely to reduce the accuracy of official attendance records. In environments with weak institutional capacity and accountability, head teachers who keep such records may know that there will be few spot checks of their accuracy and that even if inspectors were to find discrepancies, this would probably have no consequences. Even if head teachers are not trying to cover for themselves or their subordinates, keeping administrative records is not likely to be a priority.

4.1.1.1 *Absence of primary school teachers: comparative cross-country findings*

Given these issues, what do we know about teacher attendance in developing countries? One study, in which one of us was involved, set out to bypass the problem of faulty administrative records by measuring attendance through direct observation of teachers during surprise visits to primary schools in 2002–2003 (Chaudhury, Hammer, et al., 2006). The research team used this methodology across six countries on three continents, in each case in a random nationally representative sample of primary schools, which made cross-country comparisons possible. Teachers were counted as absent only if they were ordinarily scheduled to teach at the time of the surprise visit. (This applied also to head teachers, who were included in the absence calculations only for those times when they were scheduled to be teaching a class.)

Absence rates in these six countries averaged 19% (unweighted average), and they ranged from manageable to alarming, depending on the country (see Table 4.1). In Peru, the highest-income country in the sample, 11% of full-time primary school teachers were absent at the time of a surprise visit during school hours (Alcázar, Rogers, et al., 2006). A total of 25 and 27% of teachers were absent from Indian and Ugandan schools, respectively. The other three countries fell between these extremes, with the unweighted average absence for the six countries coming in at a high 19%. These results were consistent with roughly contemporaneous estimates from two other countries where survey teams also directly observed teacher attendance: Papua New Guinea, where primary school absence was estimated at 15% (World Bank, 2004), and Zambia, at 18% (Das, Dercon, et al., 2007). According to the authors of the Papua New Guinea study, this rate is an underestimate of the true rate, since schools that were closed “because there weren’t enough teachers” were replaced by schools that were open (World Bank, 2004). By contrast, in other studies such as the India teacher study reported in Kremer, Muralidharan, et al. (2005) and Chaudhury, Hammer, et al. (2006), teachers at schools that were closed simply due to teacher absence were in fact counted as being absent.

Table 4.1
Absence rates of primary school teachers, 2002–2003

Study	Country	Absence rate (%)
Six-country study	Peru	11
	Ecuador	14
	Bangladesh	16
	Indonesia	19
	India	25
	Uganda	27
Other comparable surveys	Papua New Guinea	15
	Zambia	18

Sources: Chaudhury, Hammer, et al., 2006 (for the six-country study); World Bank, 2004 (PNG); Das, Dercon, et al., 2007 (Zambia).

Note: Estimates are taken from surprise visits to representative random samples of schools in 2002–2003.

It is important to note that this was the absence rate from the school, rather than only from the teacher's assigned classroom. A teacher who was present in the school but was not in the classroom, or in the classroom but not teaching, was nonetheless marked as being present (for further details on the assumptions and calculation methods, see Chaudhury, Hammer, et al., 2006). Hence these are actually conservative definitions of absence, in that the actual rate of absence from teaching duties was sometimes considerably higher. (One commentator noted that some schools, typically in desirable urban areas, have too many teachers and suggested that this could cause some of the recorded absences. But because only teachers scheduled to be in classrooms at the time of the visit were included in the absence calculations, such underutilisation of teachers should not affect the calculated absence rates.)

Some regions within these countries suffered from even more serious absence problems. Among the states of India, the variation in absence was even greater than across the six countries. Teacher absence ranged from a low of 15% in Maharashtra, one of the most developed Indian states, to a high of 38% in Bihar and 42% in Jharkhand. Similar patterns were found within Peru: whereas Lima had an absence rate of only 7%, teachers in remote schools averaged 20% absence.

4.1.1.2 Teacher absence at the secondary level

More recently, other World Bank studies have used direct-observation methodology to measure teacher absence at the lower secondary level. National average absence rates were lower than those in the primary schools reported earlier: 7–8% in Lao PDR and 16% in Cambodia (Benveniste, Marshall, and Santibáñez, 2007; World Bank, 2008). In Mongolia, a mixed sample of schools covering different ages, Grades 1–10, recorded average absence rates of 16% in rural areas but only 5% in urban areas (World Bank, 2006a).

Reasons for lower absence at the lower secondary than at primary level are that secondary schools are less likely to be in remote locations, and that the parents of secondary school students are likely to be better educated and wealthier, both of which may increase accountability. But because few studies report the absence rates separately at primary and at lower secondary levels in the same country, we do not know whether absence is really less prevalent at higher levels of schooling, or whether Lao PDR and urban Mongolia simply have lower absence rates than do other countries. However, a study in Bangladesh (Chaudhury, Hammer, et al., 2004), found a secondary school absence rate 2% higher than the primary rate, which suggests that there may be no general tendency for lower secondary school absence rates.

4.1.1.3 Changes over time

Changes in teacher absence over time enable us to assess response to particular policies and initiatives. Uganda and Indonesia are the only countries for which we know of nationally representative surveys directly observing teacher absence more than a year apart. In Uganda, in 2006, survey teams returned to schools that had been surveyed in 2002–2003. Although no report on the findings is yet available, preliminary estimates suggest that the nationwide average absence rate had fallen by several percentage points (Habyarimana, 2008). In Indonesia, too, preliminary analysis shows a reduction of similar magnitude between 2002–2003 and 2008, with an even larger average drop in panel schools that were visited in both rounds (based on calculations by the team, which includes one of us [Rogers]. For these findings, see Pradhan, 2008.)

In addition, there is good longitudinal evidence from the country-sized Indian state of Andhra Pradesh (with a population of over 76 million). There, absence rates have been measured frequently since 2005 at a representative random sample of schools, as part of a series of experiments with interventions to improve school quality (Muralidharan and Sundararaman, 2008). A comparison with findings from 2003, which had been generated by Kremer, Muralidharan, Chaudhury, et al. (2004), shows no statistically significant improvement. Absence rates had dropped only slightly in the control schools, from 25% in 2003 to 24% in 2005–2006. Surprisingly, even in schools in which researchers had introduced teacher performance bonus payments on an experimental basis, absence still

remained at 25%—even though the incentive payments improved teachers' preparation and accelerated student learning.

4.1.1.4 Benchmarking absence

How does the problem compare with levels of teacher absence in wealthier countries? The answer to this question would be a benchmark for developing-country education systems. Unfortunately, to our knowledge no comparable survey of teacher attendance based on direct observation has been done in a developed country. Officially recorded absence levels are typically of the order of 5–6% (Ballou, 1996; Miller, Murnane, and Willett, 2007; Podgursky, 2003). It is possible that in some locations unrecorded absences are frequent enough to compare with Peru's 11% overall absence level, but it seems highly unlikely that unrecorded absence could match Indian or Ugandan levels.

4.1.1.5 Comparison with administrative records

Earlier, we justified direct-observation survey methods by the assumption that administrative records may be a poor indicator of actual teacher absence rates. By comparing reported absence rates with those directly observed by survey teams, it is possible to gauge whether this assumption is valid. Evidence from a number of studies suggests that it is. For example, in Ecuador, over one quarter of absent teachers were incorrectly reported by head teachers as being present (Rogers, Lopez-Calix, et al., 2004). In the ongoing work conducted by Muralidharan and Sundararaman in Andhra Pradesh, the researchers find that the official absence rate recorded on the day prior to the unannounced visits was 18%, whereas the absence rate measured by direct physical observation on the day of the visit was 25% (based on Karthik Muralidharan, personal communication, 16 January 2009).

4.1.2 Which teachers are absent the most?

In order to design policy to improve school quality, it is important to know the pattern of absences: Who is absent most often, and when? As Chaudhury, Hammer, et al. (2006) point out, if a small number of teachers account for most of the absences, then governments that want to tackle the problem need to identify those missing teachers and tailor their policies accordingly. If it turns out that the missing teachers are 'ghosts', in the sense that they either do not exist at all or are on the rolls merely to draw a salary, then the solution will probably involve culling them from the system. If the absent teachers are missing school not because of wrongdoing but because of extended illness, as can happen in countries hit hardest by the HIV/AIDS crisis, then school systems may need to focus their efforts on making sure that classes are quickly covered by other teachers.

This type of analysis has to be done on a country-by-country basis; like the levels of absence, the reasons for it vary across countries. Without tracking each teacher's attendance very frequently—on a weekly basis, say—it is difficult to be sure of that teacher's underlying propensity for absence. But by looking at the overall distribution of absences across several visits to the same schools over weeks or months, it is possible to infer how often teachers are typically absent.

The evidence from the multi-country study in 2002–2003 suggests that it is typically not just a small group that is responsible for absence. In all but one of the six countries analysed by Chaudhury, Hammer, et al. (2006), frequent absence appears to be a system-wide problem, with many teachers being absent at higher rates than would typically be expected in a developed-country school system. (An exception is Ecuador, where in 2002–2003 a small minority of teachers accounted for a large share of the absence: Rogers, Lopez-Calix, et al., 2004.) This implies that the reasons for absence are also likely to be systemic in nature—such as system-wide failures in accountability, low levels of pay, poor housing and transportation for teachers or simply low expectations of teacher performance across the board. Later in this section we discuss which of these systemic explanations is most likely to be valid; however, there is little evidence that it is low base pay levels that are responsible.

Another way of answering the “who is absent?” question is to compare absence rates for groups of teachers with different characteristics. In multivariate analysis in the six-country study, characteristics such as marital status, age, union membership, tenure at the school, and education level do not robustly predict absence. There is some tendency for males to be absent more often and for teachers who are originally from the local area (and who may therefore be more integrated into the community) to be absent less often. But overall, the paucity of robust individual predictors—other than those related to the teacher's position at the school, which are discussed later—reinforces the conclusion that high absence reflects systemic problems rather than problems with certain types of teacher.

4.1.3 What are the effects of teacher absence?

It may be argued that, for two reasons, teacher absence does not deserve much attention. First, the cost of absence is not great. Absent teachers are not the only problem affecting many developing-country school systems: Many schools suffer from a lack of facilities, equipment and textbooks; students are often absent, which reduces the efficacy of even well-trained and motivated teachers; and, in practice, even when they are present, many teachers are poorly trained and motivated. The difference between more and less frequent teacher absence may therefore not result in a significant difference in learning gains. Indeed, in one New York school district researchers concluded that “teacher absence from the classroom . . . for the most part does not appear to be associated with students' academic performance” (Ehrenberg, Rees, and Ehrenberg, 1991, p. 99). Moreo-

ver, absence of teachers for training or even personal leave that improves their productivity while at work may not slow student learning at all.

A second argument may be that teacher absence is built into the system and is an inevitable cost of poverty. Perhaps the government cannot afford to pay teachers well enough, and they have to supplement their salaries with outside work during school hours. This could translate into a *de facto* reduction in work hours expected of each teacher. If teachers then coordinated their planned absences, so that colleagues could cover for them or students could plan to be absent on the same days as the teachers, it could mitigate the inevitable costs of absence. It is not clear whether this situation occurs anywhere in practice, but it is a possibility and is consistent with the claim that low salaries are responsible for excessive absence.

Evidence against these arguments is discussed later. Although more information on costs of absence is needed, so far there is no support for the argument that absence is low-cost or for the view that absence is a necessary (if unfortunate) result of poverty.

4.1.3.1 Teacher absence slows student learning

Recent studies examine the issue of teacher absenteeism using US data, although without the benefit of an experimental design. (Note that the term ‘absenteeism’ is widely used in this literature. In this chapter, we prefer the term ‘absence’, which we view as less judgemental, but sometimes use ‘absenteeism’ when referring to high levels of apparently volitional absence, or when citing work that uses the term.) In their study of a large urban school district, Miller, Murnane, and Willett (2007) found that a substantial share of absences were discretionary, and that higher absences led to significantly lower student achievement. Another recent study from North Carolina that used a rich longitudinal data set of teachers and students found that teacher absences were associated with lower student achievement in primary school (Clotfelter, Ladd, and Vigdor, 2007). Moreover, absence is more prevalent in schools serving disadvantaged children. The authors found that schools in the poorest quartile averaged almost one extra sick day per teacher than schools in the highest income quartile, and schools with persistently high rates of teacher absence were much more likely to serve low-income than high-income students. This suggests that in the United States, teacher absenteeism compounds the disadvantages already faced by students in poor communities; as we show later, the same is true in developing countries.

Surprisingly, some of the best evidence on absence and student learning comes from a few developing-country studies. These studies have the advantage of direct observation of teacher attendance by study teams, which gets around problems of inaccurate administrative records. A study by Das, Dercon, et al. (2007) of primary schools in Zambia involved repeated surprise visits to the same schools over the course of a year and meas-

urement of the students' learning gains. By correlating each student's learning gains with the absence of his or her teacher, the authors concluded that absence had a surprisingly large effect: each additional 5% increase in teacher absence reduced learning by 4–8% of a year's learning for the typical student. The study controlled for many other observable inputs into student learning, such as classroom equipment and family-provided inputs. This made it more likely that the learning effect was really due to absent teachers and not to differences in other input that was correlated with teacher absence.

Another innovative recent study provides experimental evidence on how teacher absence affects learning gains (Duflo, Hanna, and Ryan, 2007). Attendance-based bonuses were given to teachers at non-government organisation (NGO) schools in rural Rajasthan, India, after cameras had been used to monitor attendance and the results verified with random spot checks. Teachers eligible for the bonuses had much lower absence rates than did teachers in the schools that had been randomly assigned as controls: only 21%, compared with 42% for the control teachers. Perhaps surprisingly, student learning also increased substantially in the experimental schools, by 0.17 standard deviations. The authors estimate that reducing absence by 10% would increase child test scores by 0.10 standard deviations. Because schools had been randomly assigned to experimental and control groups, we can be sure that this is purely a teacher effect: all other inputs were, on average, the same across the two groups.

A few other studies have also estimated the link between absence (measured through direct observation) and student attendance and achievement. In India, Kremer and others (Kremer, Muralidharan, et al., 2005) found that higher teacher absence led to lower predicted student achievement of 4th-graders—about 0.02 standard deviations lower for each 10% increase in absence—and also to lower student attendance. In Indonesia, Suryadarma, Suryahadi, et al. (2006) found that an additional 10% in the average absence rate of teachers at a school was associated with a decrease of 0.03 standard deviations in 4th-graders' maths scores (with no effect on verbal test scores). These studies do not track student learning over time, however, nor are they able to correlate an individual student's achievement with the absence of his or her own teacher, so these estimates of the effects of absence are less reliable than those discussed earlier.

The finding that teacher absence slows student learning should not be surprising. In many developing-country school systems, substitute teachers are not available. It might be possible to combine classes when one teacher is absent, but in many cases class sizes are already large, so that the combined class would be of a size that clearly retards learning. In other cases—as in rural India—primary schools are sometimes staffed by a single teacher, so that when the teacher is absent, the school must close entirely. If this happens often enough, students and families may become discouraged, increasing student absenteeism and compounding the costs of teacher absence.

4.1.3.2 *Absenteeism does not reflect an implicit contract with teachers*

Teacher absence therefore has costs in terms of student learning. But what if it is part of a tacit understanding between teachers and the public, in which teachers offset low pay by being allowed to miss a substantial number of school days? To paraphrase the colloquial US expression, perhaps the government pretends to pay teachers, and the teachers pretend to work. Teachers' unions sometimes offer a version of this story when they argue that salaries are so low that absence is unavoidable, either because teachers need to supplement their salaries through outside jobs or because low pay makes their logistics (transportation or housing, for example) especially challenging.

The evidence does not generally support this view of teacher absence. First, in many developing countries, teacher pay does not appear to be especially low, at least as measured by the teachers' wages in alternative professions. Teachers' salaries often reach two to five times their country's per capita gross domestic product (GDP), so wages that seem low in absolute terms are quite reasonable in relative terms (Bruns, Mingat, and Rakotomalala, 2003). Although part of this premium may reflect the scarcity of educated workers in the economy, which may result in higher wages, this argument applies more to the minority of teachers with a university degree than to the majority who may have less education. Although comparisons are difficult, recent work in Indonesia—which at the time had a relatively poorly paid teaching corps—suggests that teachers with only a high school education earn more than do similarly educated workers in other professions (Filmer, 2002).

Another indication of the level of teacher salaries relative to those outside teaching is the potential supply for the positions: there are often large numbers of candidates with the requisite qualifications queuing up for positions in the teaching corps. Indeed, private schools often take advantage of this excess supply by hiring teachers at a fraction of the wage paid by the government schools. In India, for example, teachers in rural private primary schools typically earn one quarter to one fifth as much as their public school counterparts (Kremer and Muralidharan, 2008).

A second reason to doubt the tacit understanding of absence story is that key stakeholders—including, most importantly, average citizens—show no recognition of such an implicit bargain with teachers. In recent international polling, citizens in many countries cite teacher absenteeism as a problem (the source for this statement is unpublished; poll data provided by Stephen Knack, 10 July 2008). Anecdotally, households in some high-absence countries are clearly outraged by the flagrant disregard that some teachers show for the official teaching schedule: for example, the influential Public Report on Basic Education in India (PROBE Team, 1999, p. 63) included the following typical vignette:

When the investigators reached the primary school in Jotri Peepal (Bharatpur, Rajasthan) shortly after noon, no teacher was in sight. One teacher, who had apparently left for lunch, soon appeared. He said that the school actually had three teachers, but that the headmaster and another teacher had gone elsewhere on official duty.

The villagers contradicted this story. They said that the two absconding teachers did not turn up at all. The only one who did was the one the investigators had met. . . . He too was highly irregular and opened the school at will.

There is no indication in this story that the villagers viewed themselves as having made an implicit bargain with the absent teachers. Instead, they clearly felt cheated: Here were three teachers with job security and relatively good wages who did not ‘turn up’ at school as they were supposed to, and so the children were left untaught.

Moreover, if absence reflected an implicit contract, the efficient way to implement it would be to have both teachers and students absent on the same days. For example, if teachers regularly stayed away from school on Fridays, parents could recognise this pattern and keep their children home on those days—in the same way that in some countries schools close in rural areas during harvest season, so that both teachers and students can help with the harvest. However, we see no such pattern. In countries that we have investigated, absences do not tend to be heavily concentrated on particular days of the week, and days of the week are often not even significant predictors of absence in a statistical sense.

4.1.4 Why are teachers absent?

We do not know for certain why teachers are absent, in part because we lack independently verified information. When we ask head teachers or the teachers themselves, we obtain answers that vary substantially from setting to setting. However, one consistent pattern is that two common explanations—illness and ‘other official duties’—seem to explain only a small percentage of absences, even if we take the head teachers’ statements at face value. Overall, only about 10% of absences were attributed to illness in the multi-country study (Chaudhury, Hammer, et al., 2006), although there is some evidence that illness is more important as an explanation in Zambia, where the HIV/AIDS epidemic has hit especially hard (Das, Dercon, et al., 2007). ‘Other official duties’ that cause teachers to miss school, such as election monitoring and public health campaigns, appear to be a minor reason for absence even in India, where they are often cited as being important (Kremer, Muralidharan, et al., 2005). In fact, in the Indian case between 10 and 15% of teachers are absent at any given time during the school day without even reported authorisation—despite the fact that the level of ostensibly authorised absences is considerably higher than what should be allowable.

However, there are reasons to doubt that interviewing teachers about reasons for absence yields accurate responses. Like other workers, teachers themselves may sometimes claim

socially acceptable excuses such as illness when they are actually absent for other reasons. Head teachers, too, may prefer to make excuses for their teachers rather than acknowledge unexcused absences or informal arrangements that allow frequent absence. As noted above, the head teachers' reports of attendance—which can be verified by enumerators—are not fully accurate; their reports on harder-to-verify reasons for absence are likely to be even less accurate.

4.1.4.1 *Factors that do not explain absence: low base salaries*

An alternative approach is to put less weight on what teachers say and more on what they do. Which types of teacher are more likely to be absent, and in what geographical and institutional contexts? Careful analysis of these questions allows us to test out different hypotheses about what is driving teacher absence.

Chaudhury, Hammer, et al. (2006) carried out this type of analysis for the six countries in which they had conducted comparable surveys. By analysing each country individually and also aggregating results for a multi-country analysis, they assessed the likely role of various factors in explaining teacher absence.

One candidate explanation is low levels of teacher salaries. This explanation sometimes appears in media accounts of absenteeism, such as when teachers note that to support themselves or their families they have to moonlight in outside jobs that sometimes pull them away from their teaching duties. If this explanation were correct, then it would be the lowest-paid civil-service teachers who are absent most often. This is typically not the case, however: in fact, the opposite may be true. The highest-ranked teachers—the head teachers and their deputies—in fact tend to be absent more often than other teachers. And in some cases teachers who are more highly educated, and hence who are paid more according to civil-service pay scales, are also more likely to be absent.

4.1.4.2 *Poor incentives and accountability*

A lack of accountability and incentives for performance probably explains better the problem of teacher absence. The data provide several clues pointing us in this direction. First, as noted earlier, higher-ranking teachers tend to be more absent, but these are precisely the teachers who have more power and who are therefore harder to hold accountable. Second, absence is higher in remote schools that are farther away from Ministry of Education offices and are probably less subject to official supervision. Third, we sometimes find higher absence among teachers in communities where the students' parents are less educated, which may reflect communities that are less able to monitor and enforce performance of teachers.

Another indicator that accountability matters for absence is the gap between teacher attendance in public and private schools. In their nationally representative sample of Indian schools, Kremer, Muralidharan, et al. (2005) found that private school teachers had absence rates one third lower than those of their public school counterparts in the same villages, despite the fact that private school salaries were only one fifth to one quarter of public school salaries. In Pakistan, Das, Pandey, and Zajonc (2006) found an even larger attendance gap: public school teachers were absent 3.2 days per month, compared with an already high 1.8 days per month for private school teachers. A plausible explanation for this difference is that private schools can dismiss teachers for poor effort, whereas public schools cannot. In India, despite the very high absence rate, only one in 3,000 public school head teachers had ever sacked a teacher for excessive absence (Kremer, Muralidharan, et al. 2005).

These insights from the data are consistent with analyses of the incentives for performance faced by many teachers. Vegas (2007), in her discussion of teacher pay structures, notes that the great bulk of compensation is unrelated to assessments of how well the teacher is performing, in terms of either effort or student outcomes. Analysis of teacher incentives and management by Alcázar, Rogers, et al. (2006) shows that this is the situation in Peru, and there is little incentive for performance. Even without pay incentives, the possibility of promotion could provide motivation to at least the better teachers, but in practice promotions are awarded not only on the basis of merit but also on the basis of connections and corruption.

In short, teachers tend not to be held accountable for their performance in the classroom. Not all teachers take advantage of this lack of accountability, of course. Most of the time, most teachers are at their posts, trying to teach in what are often difficult conditions. The problem is that when teachers do lack the professionalism and a sense of duty to meet their responsibilities, they are not usually held accountable.

4.1.4.3 Absenteeism signals broader accountability problems

We have discussed some estimates of the costs of excessive teacher absence in terms of student learning, but high levels of absence are likely to signal a broader accountability and incentive problem that has other costs as well.

One example of such costs is low activity levels of teachers when they are present in the school. In schools or areas with high levels of teacher absence, one might expect that the teachers who were present on any given day would have to work harder, to make up for their absent colleagues. In practice, at least within India, the opposite appears to be the case: states and schools with higher absence rates tend to have lower levels of teacher activity for teachers who are present at school. For example, in the state of Maharashtra, the absence rate was 15%, and about 60% of teachers were not engaged in teaching

when the survey teams arrived. By contrast, in Bihar and Jharkhand, where absence rates were about 40%, only 25–26% of teachers were actively teaching (Kremer, Muralidharan, et al., 2004). This pattern of inactivity compounds the learning costs for students, and it probably indicates a systemic problem with accountability for results or even for desired behaviours.

4.2 Reducing teacher absence: incentives and other policies

How can developing-country policymakers tackle the problem of teacher absence and more generally increase accountability and improve performance of teachers? This section focuses on financial and other incentives that can improve teacher inputs and learning outcomes. We recognise, of course, that for many teachers the profession is a calling. They are motivated to teach by their sense of professionalism: they believe deeply in the mission of educating young people, and they derive rewards from seeing their efforts lead to learning.

However, although these non-financial motivations are important, there is evidence that teacher incentive structures also matter. They affect who chooses to enter and remain in the teaching profession, as well as how well teachers do their day-to-day work in the classroom. This is seen in the United States, where there is growing concern about the declining quality of teachers. For example, research shows that the increase in US labour market opportunities for women reduced the pool of qualified applicants for teaching positions. (Corcoran, Evans, and Schwab, 2004, and Hoxby and Leigh, 2004, present evidence that the quality of teachers in the United States has declined over time because of changing labour market opportunities.) Salary levels affect employment decisions of incumbent teachers as well as entrants. Other research suggests that teacher salary scales in the United States are so compressed that the best teachers are likely to leave the profession for higher salaried jobs in other occupations. Hoxby and Leigh (2004) present evidence that the decline in teacher quality in the United States is due not only to increased opportunities for women outside teaching, but also to the highly compressed teaching wage structure.

Among those who stay in the profession, whether pay is based on performance may affect their effort levels and effectiveness. In the United States, test scores are higher in schools that offer individual financial incentives to teachers for good performance, though it is unclear whether the finding is due to high-performing schools adopting teacher incentive programmes or to the responses of teachers to these programmes (Figlio and Kenny, 2007).

In less developed countries, research also indicates that how teachers behave—including how often they show up in their classrooms—can be affected by monetary and other

types of incentive. For example, a recent evaluation of a performance-based pay bonus for teachers in Israel concluded that the incentive led to increases in student achievement, primarily through changes in teaching methods, after-school teaching, and teachers' increased responsiveness to students' needs (Lavy, 2004).

In this section, we first summarise the many types of incentive that exist to motivate teachers, both initially and throughout their careers. Next, we describe the evidence on pay for performance schemes for teachers. Then, we turn to effort to change systems for monitoring and evaluating teachers and their expected impact on teacher performance. Finally, we discuss evidence from recent efforts to motivate teachers through non-monetary incentives.

4.2.1 How should we think about motivating teachers to perform better?

Many people think of teacher incentives exclusively as salary differentials and other monetary benefits. Indeed, differences in pay can act as an incentive to attract and retain qualified teachers—or, conversely, discourage qualified applicants and talented practitioners already in the profession. But there are many other kinds of incentives, many of which are non-monetary. Vegas and Umansky (2005), in their review of teacher incentives in Latin America, define several types of incentive affecting teachers, including:

1. *Internal motivation.* The opportunity to educate children, and thereby improve their well-being, can serve as a powerful incentive to attract individuals into the teaching profession. Though its presence is important to many teachers, most people would agree that idealism alone is not sufficient to produce adequate performance.
2. *Social prestige and recognition.* This can motivate people to become teachers.
3. *Job stability.* The threat of losing one's job can act as a powerful incentive, though it is virtually absent from the teaching profession in the region. In many countries, the prevalence of union contracts strongly protect teachers' jobs, which may serve to attract potential teachers to the profession.
4. *Pensions and other non-salary benefits, such as health insurance.* Reliable government pensions that provide for a decent living after a teacher retires can attract people to the career as well as create an incentive for teachers to remain in their jobs. Although not sufficiently researched, pensions may be one of the more influential incentives encouraging people to work as teachers.
5. *Professional growth.* The presence of opportunities for advancement throughout a career can serve to motivate teachers to excel in their work. Unfortunately, this type of teacher advancement ladder is largely absent in the teaching profession in many developing countries.

6. *Non-salary job characteristics, such as the availability of adequate facilities and materials with which to teach.* In many countries, the lack of such basic infrastructure makes teaching a difficult, often unattractive profession to qualified professionals.
7. *Sense of mastery in one's job.* People who feel that they can be capable and effective as teachers are more likely to choose to become teachers.
8. *Having to satisfy clients and respond to supervisors* can be a strong incentive for performance on the job.
9. *Salary differentials and other monetary benefits.* Differences in salary and overall compensation exist between teachers and non-teachers and among teachers themselves. Changes in the salary differential between teachers and non-teachers can make teaching a more or less attractive profession to highly qualified individuals. Among teachers, salary differentials may be based on seniority, training, characteristics of the school or its students, performance or other variables. In most countries, teacher salary differentials are based almost exclusively on training and years of service; they are rarely based on performance.

These nine types of incentive can, together, work to attract, retain and motivate effective teachers. Not all of them are likely to have direct effects on attendance, but it is useful to understand the evidence on the policies that can affect them and how they affect teachers' performance.

In the following section we review that evidence, focusing on what is known about their effects on effort and attendance.

4.2.2 Paying more for increased teacher effort

To improve teacher effort and, consequently, student learning outcomes, some countries have recently experimented with performance-based pay mechanisms for teachers. These schemes usually rely on aspects of teacher performance that can be measured and evaluated and, in some cases, also on their students' performance. Understanding how performance-based pay mechanisms are designed and linked to teacher performance is important in predicting and evaluating their impact. In some cases, teachers have been found to respond adversely to incentives by, for example, reducing collaboration among teachers themselves, excluding low-performing students from classes, cheating on or manipulating the indicator on which rewards are based, decreasing the academic rigor of classes, or 'teaching to the test', to the detriment of other subjects and skills (Cullen and Reback, 2002; Figlio and Getzler, 2002; Figlio and Winicki, 2002; Jacob and Levitt, 2003; Murnane and Cohen, 1986).

In Chile, the SNED (National System of Performance Assessment) offers monetary bonuses to schools that perform best among a group of similar schools in terms of student achieve-

ment, with the bonuses distributed among the teachers in the winning schools. Teachers in winning schools receive what has typically amounted to one half of one month's salary, or between 5 and 7% of a teacher's annual salary. Although impact evaluations of the SNED are difficult owing to the absence of a natural control group, a quasi-experimental evaluation of the programme's impact found preliminary evidence that the incentive has improved student achievement in those schools that face relatively good chances of winning the bonus, although the effect appears only cumulatively after a number of years (Mizala and Romaguera, 2005).

By contrast, Mexico's Carrera Magisterial Program has been less successful in raising teacher effort. Carrera Magisterial is a voluntary programme that rewards participating teachers with higher pay based on assessments of their students and peer reviews of their teaching. The purpose of the reform was to establish incentives for teachers to improve their qualifications and effectiveness in the classroom and to create a means by which teachers could receive promotions without being promoted out of the classroom and into administrative positions. The bonuses offered by Carrera Magisterial are quite substantial, amounting to between 24.5% of teachers' base wage for the first promotion and 197% of base wage for the highest (fifth) promotion. An evaluation of the programme found no apparent effect on student performance as measured by a standardised exam (McEwan and Santibáñez, 2005).

In the United States, several states are experimenting with pay incentives to reduce teacher absences and increase performance. In North Carolina, for example, a policy was introduced to allow teachers to take additional sick days after having exhausted their supply of 'free' days, at the cost of US\$50 per day. An evaluation of the programme indicated that the probability of taking additional sick days declined when teachers were charged for each additional day off (Clotfelter, Ladd, and Vigdor, 2007).

A few experimental evaluations have recently looked at the impact of teacher incentives on teacher effort. Because of random assignment into treatment and control groups, the findings from these evaluations are considered more reliable than those of quasi-experimental evaluations. Unfortunately, experimental evaluations are often possible only in small samples, thus limiting their generalisability. Recent randomised controlled experiments have yielded mixed but promising results of the impact of incentives on teacher effort, including attendance. An experiment in Rajasthan, India, monitored teacher attendance using cameras and then based part of the teachers' salaries on their attendance rates. Not only did attendance improve, student learning did as well (Duflo, Hanna, and Ryan, 2008). An experiment in Kenya with incentive pay based on student test score gains found that the programme increased learning, but apparently only as a result of 'teaching to the test' (Glewwe, Ilias, and Kremer, 2003). By contrast, a larger-scale experiment in government schools in Andhra Pradesh, India, found that when teachers were given bonuses (either individually or collectively) based on their students' learning rates,

teacher attendance rates did not change, but student learning did improve (Muralidharan and Sundararaman, 2008).

4.2.3 Paying teachers more to take on less desirable jobs

Governments around the world are struggling with attracting qualified teachers to less desirable schools. In some countries, these schools tend to be located in rural or remote areas, and in other countries in urban areas, where most poor and disadvantaged populations are concentrated. In either case, the limited evidence available suggests that these disadvantaged schools will also have higher rates of teacher absence, as well as being staffed by less qualified teachers. Teachers typically prefer working in schools with students from middle- and upper-income households, as opposed to those from lower-income backgrounds. Research from the United States, for example, shows that teacher mobility is related more to student socio-economic characteristics than to teacher salaries: schools serving large numbers of academically disadvantaged or racial- or ethnic-minority students tend to lose a substantial fraction of teachers each year, both to other schools (with more advantaged students) and to other professions (Hanushek, Kain, and Rivkin, 2001). A key policy challenge is to ensure that all classrooms are staffed with high-performing teachers.

One possible mechanism for achieving this goal is to award teachers a bonus, or to give them additional housing or transportation benefits, for locating in less desirable schools. Unfortunately, although many countries have adopted such programmes, there is little rigorous evaluation of the programmes' effects on teacher qualifications or student learning, or on absenteeism (McEwan, 1999). Two recent studies that have examined these incentives have yielded mixed results. One is an evaluation of rural teacher pay in Bolivia and its effect on teacher performance. As in many other countries, the rural teacher pay differential in Bolivia is intended to compensate teachers for the perceived hardship of living and working in a rural area. As a result of recent urbanisation and demographic growth within cities, some designated rural schools have been incorporated into urban areas. In those cases, urban and rural teachers work in neighbouring schools, and sometimes even the same school, with indistinguishable groups of students. This enables teacher quality to be compared between teachers who are classified as rural (and thus earn higher wages) and those classified as urban. An evaluation of this programme found no meaningful differences between the test scores and other educational outcomes of students of urban-classified and rural-classified teachers with the same background characteristics. This result suggests that the rural pay differential is not successful in getting teachers to perform better (Urquiola and Vegas, 2005).

In the other study, an incentive programme was introduced in the US state of North Carolina to retain maths, science and special education teachers in high-poverty or low-performing high schools. The programme involved an additional US\$1,800 per year for

teachers who continued to teach in these schools. The evaluation found that teacher turnover rates in these schools declined by around 12%, but it did not explore the extent to which the decline in teacher turnover resulted in increased student learning outcomes (Clotfelter, Glennie, et al., 2006).

4.2.4 Improving performance by changing how teachers are monitored and evaluated

Some governments have opted for substantial reforms in how teachers are monitored and evaluated and often link the results of these evaluations to increases in compensation. In the early 2000s, Chile introduced a nationwide performance evaluation system of individual teachers, with pay promotion criteria linked to performance. Every three years, each teacher's performance is evaluated based on a portfolio, self-assessment, peer assessment, supervisor assessment and video recordings of a class. Based on these submissions, teachers are classified into one of four categories—master, effective, average or poor. Salary increases and promotions are directly linked to the outcome of the evaluation. In addition, teachers classified as average or poor are mentored and participate in training. A teacher who is evaluated as poor on two consecutive occasions is dismissed.

Although the impact of the programme on teacher effort or education quality has not been evaluated, it does attempt to define teacher quality based on characteristics and performance efforts that can be monitored and evaluated, to make these explicit, and to hold teachers accountable and reward them according to performance. Furthermore, it establishes transparent criteria for dismissing the worst performers. Because the evaluation relies on multiple perspectives, including those of the supervisor, peers and the teacher herself, teachers perceive it as fair, and teachers' unions have agreed to the new system.

Another promising policy is to increase the monitoring of teacher attendance by involving communities. Several countries in Latin America, including El Salvador, Honduras, Mexico and Nicaragua, have experimented with policies that devolve authority over school management to communities. These school-based management reforms tend to strengthen the accountability relationship between teachers (and schools) and communities. Research evidence suggests that these reforms can result in less teacher absence, more teacher work hours, more homework assigned, and closer parent-teacher relationships (e.g. Di Gropello and Marshall, 2005; Gertler, Patrinos, and Rubio-Codina, 2006; Parker, 2005; and Sawada and Ragatz, 2005). For example, a quasi-experimental evaluation of the EDUCO (Educación con Participación de la Comunidad) programme in El Salvador found that this school-based management reform had major effects on teacher behaviour and student outcomes, including fewer school closings, less teacher absence, more meetings between teachers and parents, and longer work hours for teachers. These effects were related to higher achievement in language in EDUCO schools (Sawada and Ragatz, 2005).

Similar findings resulted from a quasi-experimental evaluation of the Honduran PROHECO (Proyecto Hondureño de Educación Comunitaria; Honduran Community Education Project). Like EDUCO, PROHECO is a school-based management reform for rural primary schools. The evaluation found that PROHECO teachers were absent less frequently because of activities related to union participation (PROHECO teachers are not part of the civil service and thus are not unionised), although they were absent more frequently for teacher professional development. It also found that PROHECO teachers taught more hours in an average week than did comparison teachers and that they had smaller classes and assigned more homework. These results suggest greater efficiency and teacher effort in decentralised schools. However, little difference was found between teachers in community-managed schools and those in conventional schools in terms of their classroom processes, planning or motivation. Nevertheless, PROHECO students scored higher on maths, science and Spanish exams than did students in similar non-PROHECO schools (Di Gropello and Marshall, 2005).

4.2.5 Can non-monetary incentives induce more teacher effort?

Policymakers can contribute to teacher performance through the provision of non-monetary incentives. These include giving teachers more support in the classrooms, increasing training opportunities, and improving the infrastructure of schools and the availability of teaching materials. These interventions may not only have a direct effect on student learning, but also improve the motivation of teachers by supporting their professionalism and efficacy.

Although the evidence on the impact on these policies is scarce, a recent quasi-experimental study of a mentoring programme in New York City found that mentoring could reduce teacher absence and improve retention (Rockoff, 2008). In particular, teacher retention within a particular school was higher when a mentor had previous experience working in that school, which the author attributed to the provision of school-specific knowledge—an important part of mentoring. Importantly, the study found that the time spent working with the mentor mattered: student achievement in both reading and maths was higher among teachers who received more hours of mentoring. This finding has implications for developing countries. Research has consistently shown that during the first years of teaching, teachers tend to be less effective (though the relationship is not linear: after only 2–3 years of experience, the ‘experience premium’ fades; Darling-Hammond, 2000).

Similarly, the multi-country absence study cited earlier found in some cases that the quality of the school’s infrastructure may be a factor in predicting attendance. Schools that scored higher on an index of available infrastructure and equipment had significantly higher attendance rates than did those that scored low, and in some cases the difference was quite large. On average across the six countries in the study, schools with the best infrastructure and equipment had a predicted teacher absence rate of only about

half that of schools with the worst infrastructure, even after controlling for other factors (Chaudhury, Hammer, et al., 2006). There are a variety of reasons why this might be, but one plausible story highlights the non-financial returns to teaching. If teachers find their work environment to be more pleasant and more conducive to promoting student learning, they are less likely to avoid it.

Policymakers' best method of improving attendance is probably to focus on improving teachers' marginal incentives—that is, the incentives that they face each morning when deciding whether to call in sick that day (Kremer, Muralidharan, et al., 2005). Until teacher compensation is made more dependent on performance than it currently is, salaries will not provide that incentive. So education administrators probably need to improve both financial and non-financial incentives, as they seek to weight these day-to-day calculations by teachers towards greater attendance and effort.

4.3 Confronting teacher absence: no single answer, but some possible actions

On the basis of the available evidence on teacher attendance, performance and incentives, what guidance can we give to education policymakers and administrators about how to reduce teacher absence? There is no simple answer. The best method for combating absence and encouraging better performance in any given school system depends on the context: including the profiles of teachers, the general quality of governance in the country or region, the amount of support and monitoring by the education ministry, and the extent of community involvement in school management.

Nonetheless, even if there is no single solution, there are several actions that policymakers should take. First and most important is simply to *devote policy attention* to the issue of teacher effort. Often when student results are poor, the education establishment identifies the problem as a lack of skills: if only teachers were better trained, whether in subject matter or in pedagogy, student results would improve. But better skills have no effect on learning if the teacher does not make the effort to use them. Teacher absence—at least in the many cases when it is volitional—is just one glaring indicator of a lack of teacher effort and a reminder that policymakers need to pay attention to both skills and effort.

It is difficult to tackle a problem without measuring it, and so policymakers also need to *measure teacher absence* accurately. Regular administrative records of attendance can provide some indication of where the problem areas are, but are unlikely to be a very good gauge of actual attendance levels. For example, head teachers may cover for absent teachers, or teachers may be marked as present if they attend during any part of the school day, so that absence at any particular time is underevaluated. If there are any indications of an attendance problem, education policymakers should commission occasional independent surveys of schools to monitor absence directly. These surveys serve as

both a check on the accuracy of administrative records and perhaps also as a mechanism for increasing their accuracy, if head teachers understand that a finding of systematic inaccuracies can entail consequences.

Third, policymakers should be *willing to experiment* with mechanisms for improving attendance and teacher effort more generally and to monitor and evaluate those experiments carefully. As this review shows, the rigorous evidence of absenteeism and incentives is still too scarce to draw any general lessons about ‘best practice’ policies—even if such policies were not heavily context-dependent, as they are likely to be. However, the most promising policies for experimentation are almost certainly those that:

1. make teacher salaries and promotions dependent in part on performance, not just on qualifications and experience;
2. introduce mechanisms for accountability, for example through greater community involvement in school management;
3. increase the intrinsic and non-pecuniary rewards for good attendance, for example by turning schools into pleasant learning environments that offer adequate support for the teachers.

Note

F. Halsey Rogers is a Senior Economist with the Development Research Group, World Bank, and Emiliana Vegas was a Senior Education Economist, with the Human Development Network, World Bank at the time of writing. This chapter was written for publication in 2008 and has not been updated with findings from more recent work. The authors are grateful to Elizabeth King, Karthik Muralidharan, Menno Pradhan, and the late Jackie Kirk for their comments. The findings, interpretations and conclusions expressed in this chapter are entirely those of the authors. They do not necessarily represent the views of the World Bank and its affiliated organisations, or those of the Executive Directors of the World Bank or the governments they represent.

5

Creative and participatory strategies for teacher development in the age of AIDS

Kathleen Pithouse-Morgan, Naydene de Lange, Claudia Mitchell, Relebohile Moletsane, Tilla Olivier, Jean Stuart, Linda Van Laren and Lesley Wood

5.1 Introduction

In South Africa, which has exceptionally high levels of HIV and AIDS, particularly among the youth (UNAIDS, 2012), the education sector has an important role to play in addressing youth and sexuality in the age of AIDS and in meeting the needs of children whose lives are adversely affected by HIV and AIDS. Much of the literature, to date, on the impact of HIV and AIDS on schools in sub-Saharan African has drawn on economic perspectives (e.g. Badcock-Walters, 2002; Bennell, 2002; Whiteside and Sunter, 2000). This work has been particularly significant in terms of helping policymakers plan for teacher shortages and for growing numbers of orphans. While these studies are key to addressing the needs of schools in a context of high HIV and AIDS prevalence, they tend not to pay attention to the critical role that teachers' experiences and viewpoints play in how they handle the additional responsibilities brought by the pandemic. Nor do these studies often engage teachers themselves in any type of self-reflexivity that could assist them in dealing with the impact of HIV and AIDS on their professional and personal lives and that could be communicated to policymakers to help them comprehend the everyday realities of teaching in the age of AIDS.

This lack of attention often exists despite the rich body of work that maps out the significance of teachers' thinking, teachers' narratives, teachers' memories, teachers' life-histories and teachers' autobiographies to curriculum change more generally (e.g. Grossi, 2006; Loughran et al., 2004; Connelly and Clandinin, 1988; Knowles and Cole, 1998; Goodson, 1992; Mitchell and Weber, 1999; Pithouse-Morgan, Mitchell, and Pillay, 2012). At the heart of much of this work (and particularly relevant to the work described in this chapter) is the idea of teachers' reflexivity and self-study through creative and participatory methodologies. As many of the essays in *Just Who Do We Think We Are? Methodologies for Auto-*

biography and Self-study in Teaching (Mitchell, Weber, and O'Reilly-Scanlon, 2005) attest, the engagement process itself through performance, collage, the production of autobiographical and various literary texts, and so on, can be regarded as a medium through which teachers and teacher educators might interrogate, reflect on and take action in relation to their own teaching contexts and practices.

What can a teacher do with a camera? What happens when teachers become filmmakers? How can drawing become an entry point for reflection? How can autobiographical texts become pedagogical texts? And how can tools such as these contribute to teachers' self-study in relation to addressing HIV and AIDS? Teacher educators at a number of institutions in South Africa have been exploring pedagogic and research strategies that aim to reposition teachers' experiences and voices at the centre of teacher development in the age of AIDS. In this chapter, we highlight our work as teacher educator–researchers at two institutions, the University of KwaZulu-Natal and the Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University. We begin by describing our experiences of using creative and participatory approaches to enhance pre-service and practising teachers' engagement with HIV and AIDS-related issues. We then consider how this work fits into the larger picture of policy and research issues related to teacher education in the age of AIDS. To conclude, we offer some recommendations for educational planning and policy.

5.2 Using creative and participatory strategies for teacher development

We use a range of creative and participatory strategies in our work with pre-service and practising teachers in South Africa. Here we illustrate our use of *participatory video*, *metaphor drawing*, *photo-voice* and *autobiography* and then bring together some of the common elements of these strategies to consider how they can enhance teacher development, with particular reference to HIV and AIDS-related issues.

5.2.1 Participatory video

We have used participatory video (PV) in our work with teachers from economically and socially disadvantaged schools in the Motherwell township in the Nelson Mandela Bay Metropolitan area of the province of the Eastern Cape (Olivier, Wood and de Lange, 2007). We were particularly interested in how PV could be a catalyst for helping teachers to take action and bring about change around issues impacting on their everyday lives as teachers (Pain and Francis, 2003).

As an example of this work we held a two-day workshop with eight teachers from two high schools and two primary schools situated in an environment that manifests all the usual social, physical and economic inequalities characteristic of township life (Olivier,

Wood and de Lange, 2007). The only 'rules' we imposed on the process were that the video had to be shot on location in and around the school in which the workshop was held (for logistical/practical reasons) and that, by the end of the workshop, the videos had to be ready to screen in front of the whole group (for collaborative learning purposes) (Mitchell and de Lange, 2011).

The participants divided themselves into two groups and brainstormed issues related to the prompt of "What are some of the issues that are important in your life as a teacher?" (Moletsane et al., 2009). Through a democratic process of prioritisation of issues, both groups chose to focus on the effect of parental HIV infection on the learner, which heightened our awareness of the devastating effect of this pandemic on education (UNAIDS-IATT, 2006; Carr-Hill, 2002). Although as a research team we had focused on encouraging self-efficacy in teachers, that is, their beliefs about themselves as being capable to do something about events that affect their lives (Wood and Olivier, 2007), we had increasingly come to realise how teachers struggle with the complexities of teaching in a context where HIV and AIDS affects the community. Each group produced a storyboard of about 10 short (10–30 seconds) scenes to visually represent the chosen issue. In order to promote communication and creativity, it was stressed that the participants could work in isiXhosa, their home language, if they wanted to.

The groups were briefly trained in the basics of using a video camera and were then given the opportunity to practise using it. They also had to ensure that each person in the group was involved in the process through changing the roles they played in the shooting of each scene (e.g. director, camera operator or actor). Both groups chose to use drama as the style of their video, rather than a talk show, poetry or other genre (de Lange, Olivier and Wood, 2008). As such, the participants engaged in a short intensive experience of exploring and expressing issues related to their everyday lives as teachers, as well as determining the direction of the research. Once the videos were complete, the teachers participated in analysing, discussing and critiquing the 'message' and suggested how it could be used to address the challenges imposed by HIV and AIDS on education.

Participatory video productions require that participants become fully involved in the process and "represent themselves" (Holliday, 2007, p. 262). We were therefore very careful to reflect on the key principles of "equality, sustainability and the empowerment" (Pain and Francis, 2003, p. 48) of the teachers in this project. In this process, care was taken that the research was done *with* the participation of the teachers and not *on* them (Willis, 2007, p. 209).

We believe that our use of PV helped to 'shift the boundaries' in several ways (Mitchell, 2006): the identification of a research focus and the actual process of carrying out the research was part of the intervention, and not designed beforehand—more importantly, these features were decided on by the participants themselves, with the researchers only playing a facilitative role. The visual participatory process as well as the data produced

within the research (video) became the intervention itself; the participating teachers were part of the interpretive and analytic process, and decided on how the research ‘findings’ should be disseminated and used. In essence, within this project, we were partners in the research process (equality), participants learnt how to engage with pertinent social issues (sustainability) and we all experienced personal and professional growth during this interactive process (empowerment).

5.2.2 Metaphor drawings

In our work with pre-service teachers at the Faculty of Education of the University of KwaZulu-Natal, the creation of unique drawings was used to consider the novel possibility of integration of HIV and AIDS education in mathematics. The significance of participatory action through drawings has been highlighted in various research projects where work related to HIV and AIDS prevention and education is explored. The work described by Mitchell, Walsh, and Moletsane (2006), for example, draws attention to the uses of drawings in HIV and AIDS prevention and education through hand drawn images as the engagement in drawings allows for expression in an active yet ‘simple’ manner (Theron, Mitchell, et al., 2011). And Hobden (1999) studied pre-service mathematics teachers’ drawings of metaphors to gain insight into their beliefs about teaching and learning mathematics. By using a fusion of drawings and metaphors with pre-service teachers, it is possible to extend the reflexive opportunities of using a ‘simple’ drawing towards making sense of how teaching and learning could occur in a classroom situation.

We worked with a group of seven volunteer fourth-year pre-service teachers who expressed an interest in working on an *HIV and AIDS Education in Mathematics* project. The assumption was that at final year level these pre-service teachers would be adequately prepared to comment on their beliefs on the integration of HIV and AIDS content in a teacher education curriculum. At the commencement of the *HIV and AIDS Education in Mathematics* project, the idea of drawing a metaphor to consider beliefs about teaching and learning about HIV and AIDS in a mathematics context was explained and discussed using examples of pre-drawn metaphors. By working in pairs, the pre-service teachers with their mathematics teacher educator identified the teacher, the learners and the mathematics in the pre-drawn metaphors. We then moved on to drawing our own personal metaphors for the novel concept of teaching and learning about HIV and AIDS through mathematics as we thought it ought to be. The drawings of metaphors thus showed how each participant envisaged how teaching and learning about HIV and AIDS might occur in a mathematics classroom. In each personal metaphor, we identified the teacher, the learner, the mathematics and the HIV and AIDS education. We also described how teaching and learning about HIV and AIDS through mathematics might occur. The following example of one the participant’s metaphors gives an illustration of what was explored.

Keshni (a pseudonym is used to protect the identity of the participant) chose to draw “The hospital” as a metaphor to show how teaching and learning about HIV and AIDS might be integrated in a mathematics classroom (Figure 5.1). (Incidentally, two members of Keshni’s close family are nursing sisters at their local hospital.)



The hospital

Building Hospital → Can represent a place of education/centre of learning

Light → People can come in to be enlightened about HIV/AIDS

Open door → Everyone is welcome to learn about HIV/AIDS

Patient → Learner

Drip → Mathematics teaching about HIV/AIDS

Illness → Ignorance about HIV/AIDS

Educator → Doctor

Nurse → Represents anybody else involved in the fight against HIV/AIDS from the community

Windows are also open to allow fresh new ideas about HIV/AIDS. Open to new knowledge

Holding hands → People at schools must be united in educating learners about HIV/AIDS, integration of subjects

Source: Van Laren, 2007

Figure 5.1 The metaphor drawn by Keshni with her written explanation of what each part of the drawing represents.

“The hospital” (see Figure 5.1) metaphor shows a drip that transfers the medicine to the patient. The doctor, with the support of the nurse, is able to remedy the problem. People from the community and the hospital are able to join forces to cure the malady. The doctor and the nurse are at the centre of the drawing and together with the patient are situated inside the hospital. The description of the metaphor points out that the teacher provides the HIV and AIDS education and mathematics teaching. The teacher and other members of the school and community transfer the new knowledge. Learners should be made to feel welcome and supported to gain knowledge about HIV and AIDS.

Keshni symbolised the integration of HIV and AIDS education in subject disciplines by showing the role players at a hospital holding hands. The integration of HIV and AIDS education in mathematics is depicted by the drip where AIDS education occurs during mathematics. Keshni described her concept of integration in the focus group discussion and she mentioned that integration of HIV and AIDS education across disciplines is a new idea. She explained this by saying that:

“Then I also have windows here. This shows that we are also open to new ideas and knowledge about HIV and AIDS . . . These people are holding hands here and I say that people at school must be united in educating learners about HIV and AIDS—that’s an integration of subjects.”

5.2.3 Photo-voice

While much attention is paid to the development of materials to assist teachers to deal with HIV- and AIDS-related challenges, less attention tends to be given to the teachers themselves, although they will obviously be at the forefront of any school-based HIV and AIDS education. Their individual life experiences, and their perceptions, attitudes and understanding of the disease will influence their delivery of even the most carefully designed materials and shape their responses and classroom pedagogy in the local context in which they teach. Pattman (2006) argues that teachers should be recognised as resources, and we have been working at University of KwaZulu-Natal to find out how, through the use of photo-voice, pre-service teachers’ voices can be brought out into the open to enhance their abilities and confidence to act as such resources in a country where so many are affected by HIV and AIDS.

Over the years, photography has been used in numbers of ways to bring forward oft-silenced voices and perceptions. Wang, Burris, and Ping (1996), for instance, put cameras into the hands of Chinese village women to enable them to capture visual representations of challenges in their everyday lives and bring them to the attention of policymakers. This resulted in positive changes such as the establishment of a crèche to ensure that mothers working in rice fields no longer had to worry that while they worked their children could drown. Then through Ewald and Lightfoot’s work with children’s photography (2001), we know something of the perspectives of young Indian children in Canadian reservations

and of how children from various race groups experienced living in the transition period of apartheid South Africa. In the health arena, an example of the power of photo-voice is shown through the work of Spence (1995), who used a camera to reflect her point of view and sense of disempowerment as a cancer patient in an oncology ward.

In the *From Our Frames* project at the University of KwaZulu-Natal (Stuart, 2006), we explored with pre-service teachers ways in which arts-based methods, and in particular photography, could contribute to preparing pre-service teachers for the HIV and AIDS-related challenges they were likely to face in the field. Wang, Burris, and Ping's use of photo-voice to expose the viewpoints of Chinese peasants and use their photographs to take action to bring about change (1996), and Ewald's photo literacy work with teachers (2004) inspired and provided a starting point for the approach we took. Armed with simple point-and-shoot cameras, 13 pre-service teachers set out on a mission to capture photographs that would enable them to convey their own particular messages in relation to HIV and AIDS. Having done so, they selected and constructed their 'photo-messages' in relation to HIV and AIDS and presented these to their peers.

Rich and varied photo-texts emerged. The messages spontaneously fell into two genres; photo-stories with a narrative, or awareness posters, some of which could stand alone and others as part of a campaign. Figure 5.2 is one of the photo-stories produced from this project.



Figure 5.2 Photo-storying the HIV and AIDS logo.

The two producers captured on camera themselves and other students role-playing a complex HIV-related story about a healthy young wife who gives birth to healthy baby only to be deliberately infected by a contaminated syringe used by the husband's former girlfriend. The horror of this crime is compounded when her husband and the community reject her and the baby. The story ends when they are accepted back once the husband and community have become better informed about the disease through appropriate literature and counselling. Although the resolution of the story belies the complexity of working in real-life scenarios with the ignorance, fear and prejudice which results in judgment, isolation and rejection of many infected people, they show through their story an interest and sensitivity to such issues. Their intention was to promote awareness among their peers about *"the infected family, more especially the children, how they are treated by society as a whole, how the society react towards those infected"*. In discussion, they attributed the story line to a meshing of a number of TV, newspaper and community and campus stories about stigma of which they were aware.

The poster shown in Figure 5.3 represents a very different perspective of HIV. The stated intention of the photographer here was to use nudity to attract attention *"because no matter what you think, if you see a nude body you will stop—you will"* and then to warn and create awareness of individual responsibility through her witty but shocking message. In this way, she was able tie into discourses on sexuality—relevant to youth, central to much HIV transmission, but often difficult to address, even for this young producer who apologised that her posters were *"naughty."*

Although we can only provide a glimpse here of the richness of the photo-messages produced through the project, each poster or photo-story resulted from a blending of



Figure 5.3 Bringing the unspoken into the light. (Source: Stuart, 2006.)

personal, local community and public influences. But each was also a new text, relevant to the skills, technical expertise and social and cultural context of the producer, each resulting from the producer adopting a position and engaging with HIV and AIDS. Given the call for teachers to come to terms with their own positions on HIV and AIDS before moving on to teach others (Khau, 2011; Masinga, 2012), this is an outcome we should value.

5.2.4 Autobiography

In the field of teacher development, autobiographical approaches are increasingly being used to encourage pre-service and practising teachers to re-examine their educational experiences and practices and to envisage new possibilities for their authoring their own professional growth (e.g. Mitchell and Weber, 1999; Pithouse, Mitchell and Weber, 2009; Ritchie and Wilson, 2000; Samaras, Hicks and Berger, 2004). As one example of this, we have taken an autobiographical approach to HIV and AIDS-related teacher development in a graduate course for teachers offered at the University of KwaZulu-Natal (Khau and Pithouse, 2008). This course has so far been conducted with two groups of experienced teachers. The size of the groups has ranged from five to nine teachers.

The learning activities we have designed for the course are aimed at positioning the teachers' lived experience at the centre of their learning about HIV and AIDS in education. Because we are aware that it can be emotionally taxing to reflect on and share HIV and AIDS-related experiences, which interact with emotionally loaded issues of sickness, death, sexuality and, often, sexual violence, we have developed a number of strategies for emotional support. At the start of the course, the teachers read and discuss Rager's (2005) article on "self-care" for researchers who explore emotionally demanding topics. The practical self-care strategies that Rager recommends include peer debriefing and personal counselling. We encourage the teachers to identify and share their own self-care strategies and then to negotiate guidelines for 'group-care' within the class. When discussing the group-care strategies, we highlight the importance of the teachers revealing only that which they feel comfortable with disclosing in class and of respecting others' rights to privacy (Nash, 2004). We follow the self-care and group-care activity with a presentation from the campus student counsellor so that the teachers can meet her and find out how to access her support services if need be. We also refer back to the self-care strategies and group-care guidelines throughout the course, and we work hard to cultivate an atmosphere of support and mutual trust in the class. In addition, we try to ensure that there is time and space in each session for the teachers to discuss their emotional responses to the course and we make ourselves available for consultations outside of class time.

During the course, the teachers keep course journals. Although they receive marks for keeping these journals up to date, the content and the style of the journal entries are not assessed. The teachers are encouraged to use their journals to make connections between

their lived experience and their learning during the course, to keep reading logs, to write drafts of their coursework assignments and to express their thoughts and feelings about the course (Richardson, 2003; Ballantyne and Packer, 1995). The journals offer the teachers opportunities to explore their emotional and intellectual responses to the course without “the tyranny of the academic expectation that we always ‘make sense’” (Elbaz-Luwisch, 2002, p. 415).

A key autobiographical coursework activity involves the teachers in writing and then presenting and discussing short “lived-experience descriptions” (van Manen, 1990, p. 64–65) of experiences they have had that connect somehow to the topic of HIV and AIDS in education and that they find “emotionally as well as intellectually interesting” (Conle, 2000, p. 190). This activity is followed by an exercise in which the teachers construct personal–public timelines of the age of HIV and AIDS in South Africa by mapping out their own experiences in relation to public HIV and AIDS-related issues and happenings. The timeline activity is informed by a slideshow and discussion on public events, issues and debates in the area of HIV and AIDS.

The lived-experience descriptions and timelines feed into the main coursework assignment. For this task, the teachers write scholarly autobiographical essays (Nash, 2004; Ritchie and Wilson, 2000) in which they trace the development of their particular areas of concern in HIV and AIDS in education. The teachers are encouraged to locate these areas of concern in relation to their own experiences and contexts as well as to relevant literature and public issues. The teachers are also asked to write about how they might translate their concerns into some action (no matter how small) in their professional and/or academic contexts. We provide opportunities for the teachers to share their essays (in various stages of completion) with each other and to give each other constructive advice and support during the writing process. Through this sharing and dialogue, the teachers are able to engage with the experiences and viewpoints of others in their group as well as to develop their skill and confidence in scholarly and autobiographical writing. The essay task also gives the teachers an opportunity to review and consolidate what they have learnt during the course. In addition, these essays can serve as vehicles for teachers to share their experiences and concerns with a wider audience by submitting them for print or online publication. So far, one of the teachers we have worked with has published her scholarly autobiographical essay in a peer-reviewed journal and we would like to develop this aspect of ‘going public’ when we teach this course or similar courses in the future.

5.2.5 Contributions to teacher development

From the teachers’ responses and our own observations, we have identified five key ways in which creative and participatory strategies can enhance teacher development, particularly in relation to HIV and AIDS.

1. Engagement and deep thinking We have found that creative and participatory strategies engage practising and pre-service teachers to identify pressing social issues that affect or are likely to affect their teaching and children's learning and to interrogate existing perceptions and realities around these issues. Feedback from the teachers has shown that they find themselves confronted with many questions that arise naturally as they work to produce participatory videos, photo-messages, drawings or pieces of autobiographical writing. These creative and participatory activities prompt teachers to review and reconsider the impact of HIV and AIDS on their personal and professional lives. As a result of the 'doing' and 'dialogue' involved in creative and participatory processes, teachers become more aware of HIV- and AIDS-related experiences and issues they had previously overlooked or perhaps avoided thinking about. This facilitates reflection, introspection and interrogation of personal understandings about the HIV and AIDS. As one of the teachers commented:

"I feel a lot more strongly about the topic than I thought. I also didn't realize how it affects me as a person until now."

Through the participatory production and presentation of creative texts, the concerns and the viewpoints of the teachers are made 'visible' to teacher educator-researchers, thus enabling them to customise pedagogic and research activities to address issues that are directly relevant to the teachers' work and contexts. This focus on what 'actually matters' to the teachers inspires them to be more engaged in learning and research processes:

"Because the content was about what affects us in our lives and occupation we were inspired to be involved." (Comment from a teacher's anonymous course evaluation)

2. Dialogue and sharing The sharing of lived experience through creative and participatory activities enables teachers to look through each other's eyes to gain new understandings of personal and professional dimensions of the HIV and AIDS epidemic. As one of the teachers explained:

"Being exposed to people's intimate stories about their personal experiences of HIV and AIDS was very powerful. We had some very emotional and touching sessions where everyone spoke from his or her heart. I think I would've had to be incredibly insensitive to have completed this course and felt the same as when I first started."

When creative texts are presented to fellow participants, it becomes evident that many different views are held within a group of teachers and that there is value in listening to each person's viewpoint. In addition, exposure to others' views and experiences encourages teachers from diverse schools and communities to view HIV and AIDS as a shared responsibility rather than as something that only affects 'other' groups of people or as something that they are facing without assistance and understanding from others.

The dialogue and sharing that are facilitated by creative and participatory processes are not limited to the teachers and the teacher educator–researchers. When teachers ‘go public’ with their creative texts via exhibitions, screenings, presentations or online/print publication, local and international audiences can also engage with these texts and the issues and questions they raise.

3. Enjoyment We have found that that enjoyment is a significant feature of creative and participatory teacher development processes. The use of creative and participatory strategies can be a fun way to promote involvement in the serious and often disheartening challenges of HIV and AIDS (de Lange, Mitchell, et al., 2006; Edwards, 2004; Silver, 2001; Mitchell, 2011). What is also of value is that the produced media can be enjoyed by other audiences and have a significant influence on many people’s thinking and attitudes (Gauntlet and Holzwarth, 2006). As we have observed teachers in the process of making videos, creating photo-texts or drawings and doing autobiographical writing, we have seen their excitement and pride that they could produce such ‘professional’ and ‘artistic’ texts and, often more importantly for them, that they could show these texts to others. Teachers have commented that, as a result of these creative processes, they have developed confidence and belief in their ability to make a difference. They have been surprised by their own ability to create opportunities for exploration and understanding, expression and communication, as well as the discovery of key issues and possibilities for action around the topic of HIV and AIDS.

4. Taking action Many of the teachers we have worked with have acknowledged feelings of powerlessness in the face of the manifold personal and professional challenges of HIV and AIDS. Nevertheless, through involvement in creative and participatory activities, they have come to see themselves as capable of ‘making a difference’ and have been able to identify some practicable ways in which they can take action as teachers in the age of AIDS. For example, a teacher whose school community had largely ignored the issues of HIV and AIDS decided to speak to her colleagues about developing and implementing an AIDS policy in the school, a number of teachers committed themselves to taking up issues of sexuality and HIV and AIDS education in their own classrooms, and the principal of a primary school came up with some workable strategies to help school managers cope with HIV and AIDS-related emotional stress.

According to Pain and Francis (2003, p. 46), participatory methodologies “aim to effect change for and with . . . participants.” Fullan (1994, p. 12), however, suggests that teachers require tools and skills to “engage in productive change.” The ‘tools’ provided in the form of participatory video, photo-voice, metaphor drawing and autobiographical writing enable teachers to *create personal visions* (of how they can play a role in addressing the challenges of HIV and AIDS), to *develop an inquiring approach* (evidenced by the participating teachers’ quest for solutions to their social issues), to *gain a sense of expertise* (evidenced by their new found skills), and to *collaborate and communicate* via group work

processes and 'going public' (Mitchell, Weber and Pithouse, 2009; Pithouse, Mitchell and Weber, 2009.)

5. Emotional growth Through our work with pre-service and practising teachers, we have become more conscious of the emotional complexity of taking creative and participatory approaches to the sensitive and often taboo subject of HIV and AIDS. As teacher educator–researchers, we assume considerable emotional responsibility when we encourage teachers to examine and share their lived experiences of HIV and AIDS. However, we understand from teachers' reactions that even though they have found it emotionally painful at times to confront their own and each other's HIV and AIDS-related experiences and challenges, they have also found that the focus on lived, felt experience has helped them to grow personally and professionally. Many of the teachers have remarked on how their involvement in creative and participatory processes has helped them to express and explore their emotional responses to teaching in the age of AIDS. They have also drawn attention to the importance of developing an atmosphere of support, empathy and trust within a group to support this emotional learning. As one teacher remarked:

"What I particularly liked about our sessions was the openness of the group. Our group had a very good dynamic and it was comfortable to share and express thoughts and opinions."

5.3 Policy and research issues

The work described above is located within a policy framework that highlights the key role that teachers can play in addressing HIV and AIDS. Teachers and the schooling system in South Africa are not only expected to teach children about the disease (to provide them with the necessary knowledge, skills and values), but they are also increasingly being called upon to provide the much-needed personal, social, emotional and academic care for the children in their charge.

To facilitate this, over the years, various policies have been adopted. Here, we will focus on four examples of these policies. First, responding to the 1996 post-apartheid constitution, as well as the international policy context (e.g. following the 1990 World Conference on Education for all), South Africa adopted the *Education White Paper 6: Special Needs Education: Building an Inclusive Education and Training System*, which commits the country to providing "quality education for all learners" (Department of Education, 2001, p. 11). The policy requires schools and teachers to address all barriers to learning in schools, including poverty, disability, HIV and AIDS and others.

Second, the National policy on HIV/AIDS, for learners and educators in public schools, and students and educators in further education and training (FET) institutions targets schools and FET institutions to provide education about the pandemic, and particularly

prevention against it. This policy was also developed in line with the country's constitution and legislation which require and guarantee the right to basic education for all, "the right not to be unfairly discriminated against, the right to life and bodily integrity, right to privacy, the right to safe environment and the best interests of the child" (Department of Education, 1999: 9).

Third, in grappling with the changing role of teachers and schools in the context of HIV and AIDS in particular, the *Minimum Requirements for Teacher Education Qualifications* (Department of Higher Education and Training, 2011, pp. 52–53) identifies seven "collective roles of teachers in a school":

- a. *Specialist in a phase, subject discipline or practice*
- b. *Learning mediator*
- c. *Interpreter and designer of learning programmes and materials*
- d. *Leader, administrator and manager*
- e. *Scholar, researcher and lifelong learner*
- f. *Assessor*
- g. *Community, citizenship and pastoral role*

Thus, in line with the *South African Schools Act* (Department of Education, 1996) and the *Education White Paper 6*, the *Minimum Requirements for Teacher Education Qualifications* aims to address, among others, the negative impacts of poverty, and HIV and AIDS:

Within the school, the educator will demonstrate an ability to develop a supportive and empowering environment for the learner, and respond to the educational and other needs of learners and fellow-educators. Furthermore, the educator will develop supportive relations with parents and other key persons and organisations, based on a critical understanding of community and environmental development issues. One critical dimension of this role is HIV/AIDS education. (Department of Higher Education and Training, 2011, p. 53)

Fourth, in tandem with the government policies have been initiatives by the higher education sector itself. Responding to and drawing on the *National strategic plan, 2007-2011* (SANAC, 2007) the higher education sector developed a *Policy framework on HIV and AIDS for higher education in South Africa* (HESA, 2008), thereby providing a frame of reference for work in the higher education sector in mitigating the impact of the pandemic. The policy framework has since been revised (HEAIDS, 2012) drawing on the new *National strategic plan on HIV, STIs and TB, 2012-2016* (SANAC, 2012).

The policy framework described above highlights the complex and demanding roles teachers are expected to play as change agents in post-apartheid South Africa, particularly in the context of HIV and AIDS and other social issues facing the country. Emphasising the

importance of reflective, participatory practice among teachers, the work discussed in this chapter illustrates various ways in which some teachers and teacher educator–researchers understand and take on board these changing education policies in terms of their frameworks for HIV and AIDS education. Together with more of this work, further research is needed to investigate the ways in which the existing policies are either enabling or disabling for an educational agenda that integrates HIV and AIDS in its curricula.

5.4 Recommendations for teacher development policy and planning

Although the examples here draw on work in only two of the 23 teacher education institutions in South Africa, and in only one country within the SADC (Southern African Development Community) region that has been hard hit by HIV and AIDS, their significance for teacher development policy and planning cannot be overlooked and we offer the following as recommendations:

1. *Professional development:* Ministries of Education would do well to invest in the professional development of teachers through support for participatory and self-reflexive approaches, as ways of placing teachers ‘at the centre’ of their own learning.
2. *Curriculum:* Teacher education institutions should incorporate creative and participatory approaches into professional studies.
3. *Research:* Evidence-based research in the area of teacher development, particularly in the context of addressing such areas as HIV and AIDS, could be enhanced through the use of teachers’ own stories and perspectives as communicated via creative texts such as participatory videos, photo-messages, drawings and autobiographical writing.
4. *Policy narratives:* Teachers’ visual and literary productions can be central to deepening and contextualising an understanding of policy-related issues.

While these are by no means modest recommendations in that they imply a radical shift in how teachers are valued, and in the status of teacher development itself, they are ones that complement the project of education for social change more broadly.

5.5 Glossary

Autobiography Autobiography involves writing about personal experiences and memories. In teacher development, autobiographical approaches are used to encourage pre-service and practising teachers to examine and share their own educational

experiences and practices and to imagine new possibilities for their authoring their professional development.

Metaphor drawings A metaphor drawing is an imaginative way of describing a situation using a drawn picture. A hand drawn sketch of a metaphor may be used to explain how a teaching and learning situation is visualised. It should be possible to identify the teacher, the learner and the lesson content in the drawing.

Participatory video (PV) Participatory video is a film making practice facilitated by a researcher or educator with participants engaged in the video making process, ranging from identifying the issue to be focused on, the story-boarding, the production of a rough cut, to the screening of the video and providing feedback on their own work.

Photo-voice Photo-voice is a grass-roots participatory action research strategy or method which is particularly effective in bringing forward the points of view of those whose voices are often overlooked (e.g. rural village women in China). Using simple point and shoot cameras, participants take photographs, sort and discuss those they regard as best presenting their perspective and then present these to a pertinent audience with a view to influencing social change.



**Teachers' lives and work:
Confronting gender-related challenges,
political violence and emergency/state fragility**

6

Political violence against teachers in Colombia: understanding the geographies and politics of violence and resistance

Mario Novelli

6.1 Introduction

Over the last decade there has been a growing awareness of the scale of human rights violations in Colombia, and particularly against Colombian trade unionists (Amnesty International, 2007). Between 1999 and 2005, of the 1,174 reported murders of trade unionists throughout the world, 860 were in Colombia (Escuela Nacional Sindical, 2007). That almost half of these (416) were working in the education sector is less well known (see Figure 6.1).

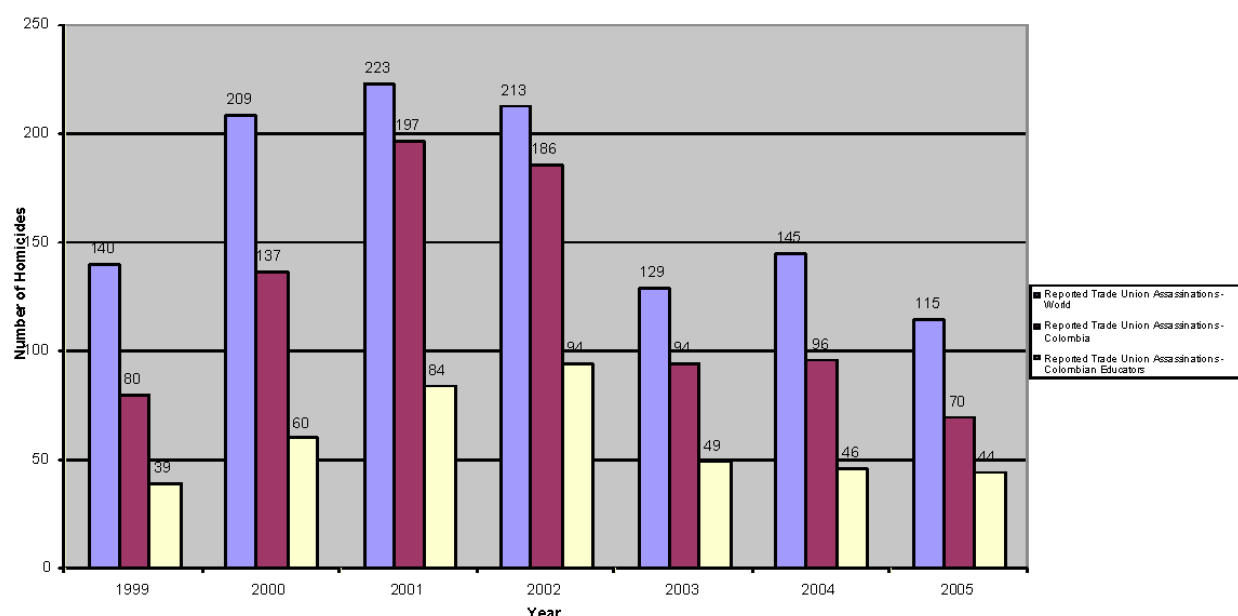


Figure 6.1 Number of homicides of trade unionists, in the world and in Colombia, 1999–2005. (Source: Escuela Nacional Sindical, 2007.)

Although these figures are shocking, they are only a partial representation of the nature and scale of violence, death threats, forced disappearances and displacement that the education community in Colombia continues to endure on a daily basis.¹ According to FECODE (Federación Colombiana de Educadores; the major national teachers' federation) this ongoing repression is one of the union's biggest challenges (FECODE, 2007).

During a United Nations mission to Colombia in 2003 on the 'right to education', Katarina Tomasevski, who was then the Special Rapporteur for the UN Commission on Human Rights, noted that:

The realization of the right to education cannot be imagined without the protection of the human, professional, trade union and academic rights and freedoms of teachers. The Special Rapporteur recommends that immediate measures be taken to remedy the absence of their protection in Colombia. (United Nations Economic and Social Council, 2004, para. 41)

This chapter presents a snapshot of the facts and figures of political violence against educators between the late 1990s and mid 2000s and goes into more detail on the nature and dynamics of political violence against educators in Colombia. Furthermore, it documents the coping strategies that education sector workers, their institutions and their supporters have developed over the years to protect their human rights. The chapter concludes with some suggestions for policymakers on how to improve the human rights situation for educators in Colombia.

6.2 Political violence against educators: a growing problem

From Afghanistan to Zimbabwe political violence directed at the education community is becoming a common phenomenon. Despite this, up until recently, there was very little research that focused specifically on this type of political violence. The growing recognition of the scale of the problem of political violence against the education system has led to the emergence of a broad based coalition to raise public awareness on the issue: The Global Coalition for the Protection of Education From Attack (GCPEA) (www.protectingeducation.org).

¹ Due to the highly sensitive nature of the research and the widely contested views on the numbers of human rights violations in Colombia and who is responsible, I have been cautious in the handling of statistics. For this chapter I have drawn exclusively on the database of the Colombian National Trade Union School, which cross-checks all details of alleged human rights violations via the local and national press, the trade union organisation in question, and data that exist in the two other major national non-governmental human rights databases—Centro de Investigación y Educación Popular (CINEP) and the Comisión Colombiana de Juristas (CCJ). In a highly politicised and dangerous environment such as Colombia this documentation is not always available, and it is likely that many violations go unreported. Therefore it is my hypothesis that the figures presented here are an underestimate of the actual figures for human rights violations against educators specifically and trade unionists more generally.

This shift in interest coincides with the broader concerns of the international development community about the relationship between education and conflict, which has become an important theme in the literature on education and international development and has increased in prominence in international policy circles. There is an emerging academic literature on the way education both affects and is affected by violent conflict (Bush and Saltarelli, 2000; Davies, 2004; Novelli and Lopez-Cardoso, 2008) and a vibrant policy network, the INEE (Inter-agency Network on Education in Emergencies), which seeks to contribute to good practice in education sectors in conflict and post-conflict societies from a more practitioner/policy perspective. Despite these advances, there is a lack of research on the way educators are affected by conflict, why they are so often targeted, and the potential strategies that can be developed to overcome this. This research seeks to begin to fill that research and policy gap.

6.3 Understanding teachers as active subjects

Classical critical studies of education often depict teachers as state functionaries (Bowles and Gintis, 1976): an essentially conservative force involved in maintaining the status quo and tasked with reproducing the next generation of compliant and obedient workers/citizens. On the other hand, teachers historically have been in the forefront of national liberation movements and, over recent years, in opposing processes of neoliberal educational reform (austerity measures, privatisation, decentralisation), which have become globalised via multilateral institutions, particularly the World Bank (Robertson, Novelli, et al., 2007).

This contradictory role of teachers is reflected in ongoing debates by teachers and others about whether they are ‘workers’ or ‘professionals’ (Loyo, 2001). As professionals with the task of socialising the next generation, teachers should not, it is argued, form trade unions, strike or be subjected to national collective union organisation that would hamper their professional ‘autonomy’. However, as civil servants and workers they are often faced with low status and low financial compensation, which force them to act collectively to defend their interests (Torres, Cho, et al., 2006).

Although these issues apply to teachers globally, there also appear to be differences between teachers and teachers’ unions in the North and South. Vongalis (2004) notes a more confrontational attitude of teachers’ organisations in the South towards challenging neoliberal educational reform and also a more important social role and greater responsibility for teachers to socialise children and to challenge the highly unequal status quo. This perhaps is because neoliberal reforms, although a global phenomenon, have affected North and South in different ways and to a different extent, increasing inequality both within countries and between North and South. It might also reflect differences in the histories of ‘northern’ trade unions and their ‘southern’ counterparts, particularly

in relation to the cold war and national independence struggles, when the international trade union movement was sharply divided (Herod, 1998, 2001).

Furthermore, in terms of an organised body of state employees, teachers are unique in that their workplaces (schools) are located throughout the entire country from the biggest industrial conurbation to the smallest hamlet. This provides education sector trade union organisations a tremendous geographical reach and potentially an enormous amount of power and influence. However, this geographical spread also means that protecting the human rights of teachers under threat from physical violence is difficult and complex.

Furthermore, education sector workers' unions in many parts of the world have always been influential within trade union movements, and they have become a greater proportion of those movements as membership of other public sector worker unions has declined (as a result of privatisation of state-owned companies, reduction of state sector employees, etc.).

Although it is important not to overly simplify the behaviour and position of educators, nor to romanticise their behaviour, the above issues might be helpful in exploring and understanding some of the contradictory driving forces behind education sector workers, as collective political activists potentially working both with and against the state (Harvie, 2006). It is also necessary to understand teachers' activities outside the school and in the community as members of 'civil society', perhaps engaged in a range of different political and cultural activities, or in none. They could be, for example, trade union activists or members of political organisations, community organisations, non-government organisations (NGOs) or human rights organisations. Indeed, in Colombia, as we see later, involvement with any of these organisations could have led teachers into conflict with other 'social activists' who seek to utilise the power of political violence to neutralise their activities. Teachers may also become victims of political violence not by being active in any political or social movement but merely by being caught up in the broader ongoing conflict in Colombia.

Finally, in understanding the relationship between education trade unionists and political violence I think it important to avoid seeing Colombian education trade unionists as merely 'victims' of terror and instead to see them potentially as active subjects involved in a range of political projects. The central argument of this chapter is that the violation of the political and civil human rights of educators in Colombia (through torture, assassinations, death threats, etc.), particularly by state and state-supported paramilitary organisations, is carried out precisely with the intention of silencing those organisations and individuals that are actively defending the economic, social and cultural rights (salary, working conditions, public services, etc.) of both their own members and the broader Colombian community. In this sense political violence against educators cannot, and should not, be separated from an analysis of the impact of the broader Colombian conflict on civil society movements.

6.4 Background to education unions in Colombia

If political violence is used to silence opposition, and trade unionists are seen as a key concern, then a logical target would be the teaching profession. As a result of repression and the massive growth in the informal sector, trade union representation is very low in Colombia, with only 5% of the workforce unionised. Most state employees are unionised—around 800,000—and the biggest trade union in the country is FECODE (Federación Colombiana de Educadores), the national teachers' federation, with over 250,000 members. The private sector in education is almost completely non-unionised and represents over 50% of secondary school students and around 70% of university students. FECODE also has a strong presence and influence in the Central Unitaria de Trabajadores de Colombia (CUT—the major national Colombian labour federation), and many ex-members have leadership roles.

FECODE is a highly disciplined and well-organised trade union with members in every city in Colombia and a greater capacity to mobilise nationally than any other union in the country. Throughout the 1990s to date it has mobilised to oppose educational reforms linked to neoliberal austerity measures, decentralisation and privatisation, with some success. Its effectiveness to block decentralisation reforms in the early 1990s was noted disapprovingly by a World Bank report in 1995 (Montenegro, 1995, p. 24).

Since then FECODE has mobilised on several major occasions, particularly in 2001 against changes in educational funding mechanisms (Law #2001), which led to a six-week strike, and more recently in 2007 over the Colombian Government's national budget plan. In both cases, although not successful in completely blocking the plans, it has been able to negotiate significant modifications to the legislation.

In 2004 FECODE also mobilised nationally and in a highly public manner for a 'no vote' in a referendum brought about by the current Colombian president, Alvaro Uribe Velez, to change the Constitution to allow for his re-election. The referendum was won by the opposition, and FECODE was credited with a key role in the victory. FECODE has also pledged open and public support for the new political opposition party formed in 2001, the Polo Democrático Alternativo. The party is a fierce critic of the current administration and of the current nature of the 'peace process' with the paramilitaries, which it sees as giving immunity to persons involved in widespread crimes against humanity. Two ex-presidents of FECODE are now members of the Colombian Congress for the Polo Democrático Alternativo (PDA). All these issues have contributed to FECODE being targeted by political violence.

In the next section gives a brief background to the conflict in Colombia and ways in which the Colombian trade union movement has been affected by political violence.

6.5 Background to political violence in Colombia

6.5.1 Historical context of state–civil society relations in Colombia

In Colombia a low-intensity civil war has been fought between Marxist-inspired guerrilla and state and para-state forces since the early 1960s. The two largest contemporary guerrilla organisations are the FARC (Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia) and the ELN (National Liberation Army). The roots of this armed confrontation can be traced to conflicts over the highly unequal distribution of wealth and political power in a country bestowed with a wide range of natural and human resources. The country has vast deposits of coal, emeralds, oil, ferronickel, gold and water, and a fertile agricultural terrain makes Colombia a leading producer of coffee, flowers and bananas (Fernández, 2003; Hylton, 2003). Geographically Colombia is at the crossroads of crucial transnational communication links both by land and by sea, and therefore it is of strategic international importance (Petras, 2001).

Despite these strategic advantages, poverty is endemic (World Bank, 2002), and conflict and violence have never been far from the surface (González, Bolívar, and Vásquez, 2002). Political violence has been a constant feature of state/civil society relations for decades, and the bullet and the bomb have been the preferred option for conflict resolution from the assassination of Liberal presidential candidate Gaitan in 1948, which led to 200,000 deaths, to the systematic elimination of oppositional forces and trade union leaders, which continues to date. In 1985 the FARC's attempts to enter into the electoral political process with the formation of the Unión Patriótica (UP) led to widespread bloodshed with over 3,000 members murdered by 1994, which once again thwarted the potential for peaceful social reform (Pearce, 1990, p. 281; Reiniciar, 1995). The assassination of Gaitan and the elimination of the UP are two examples of the intransigence of the Colombian establishment and its willingness to resort to extreme violence in its struggle to maintain control and to block attempts at social reform and land redistribution.

The current conflict has also been fuelled since the 1980s by the increasingly important role that Colombia occupies in the international drugs trade, which has enriched both national elites and many of the warring factions and has increased broader societal conflict. The situation has also been complicated since the 1990s by government attempts to introduce a wide range of political and economic restructuring and austerity measures; these have led to national and regional confrontations between trade unions, social movements, and the state over processes of privatisation of national industries and natural resources and to budget cuts in public services such as health and education (Ahumada, 1998, 2001; Castillo, 2000).

The multidimensional aspects of armed conflict, resource wars, drugs, austerity and restructuring have increased both the intensity and the impact of the Colombian conflict

since the 1980s. More than 3 million people are now internally displaced, political homicides per annum ranged from 3,000 to 6,000 during the 1990s, and Colombia has one of the highest murder rates in the world, all in a country with only 45 million people (CODHES, 2006; Duncan, 2006; RET, 2004).

There is also a strong international dimension to the Colombian conflict: the link between human rights abuses and military aid. In common with other US allies during the cold war, Colombia received extensive military support and training in 'counterinsurgency', beginning in the wake of the Cuban revolution in 1959. It is now a key US ally in both the 'war on drugs' and the 'war on terror'. The doctrine of counterinsurgency in the 1960s and the training manuals on which it was based often led to the conscious blurring of the line between combatant and civilian. These manuals also advocated the setting up of clandestine military units that could carry out attacks on targets while allowing the state to distance itself from responsibility and claim 'plausible deniability' of its involvement in human rights violations (Campbell, 2000; McClintock, 1985). This practice led to trade union and social movements being systematically targeted by both state and right-wing paramilitary organisations as potential guerrilla supporters, and this still occurs (Stokes, 2004). As a result, trade union leaders and activists have suffered from a systematic policy of assassination, intimidation and persecution carried out mainly by right-wing paramilitary organisations with well-documented links to the Colombian state (Human Rights Watch, 1996, 2000, 2001). This policy took the lives of over 2,515 trade union leaders and activists between 1986 and 2006 (Correa-Montoya, 2007). I now discuss these paramilitary organisations.

6.5.2 Paramilitarism and the war against trade unionism

Paramilitary organisations in Colombia were originally set up in the 1960s by large land-owners, with military support, as a means of protection against guerrilla incursion and to suppress peasant demand for land reform. (Legislation for allowing the right of the military to arm civilians was provided in Decree 3398 of 1968; World Bank, 1999, p. 36.) The organisations developed in different directions during the 1980s. During the 1990s they became well-funded and well-armed units that pursued a terror campaign against leftist insurgents and their alleged 'social base'. They had complex and conflicting relationships with drug cartels, particular local elites, and sections of the military (Duncan, 2006; Human Rights Watch, 1996, 2000, 2001).

In the 1990s, the relationship between the Colombian state and these paramilitary organisations appears to have been solidified, particularly in Antioquia, by the introduction of laws under the presidency of Ernesto Samper to allow for the setting up of armed self-defence organisations known as 'CONVIVIR'. This policy was vigorously supported by Alvaro Uribe Velez, who was then Governor of Antioquia (1995–1997) and is now President of Colombia (2002–date). The CONVIVIR appear to have been taken over by already

existing right-wing paramilitary groups and drug traffickers, and they committed widespread human rights violations before being officially disbanded in 1998 (Romero, 2007). They then formed the illegal AUC (Autodefensas Unidas de Colombia), which became the most powerful national paramilitary organisation and continued committing widespread massacres and human rights violations under the leadership of the notorious AUC commander Carlos Castano (Duncan, 2006). According to several commentators (Observatory on Human Rights and International Humanitarian Law, 2000; Richani, 2002) an army of a few hundred soldiers in 1986 had changed to an army of 11,000 by 2002.

The debate over the precise relationship between the Colombian state and paramilitary forces remains controversial in contemporary Colombia, and successive governments have fiercely denied any direct contact. Despite these protestations there appears to be clear evidence (Human Rights Watch, 1996, 2000, 2001) of direct involvement by Colombian military forces in paramilitary operations and, at the very least, active non-intervention in those operations, as a Human Rights Watch report notes:

At their most brazen, the relationships described in this report involve active coordination during military operations between government and paramilitary units; communication via radios, cellular telephones, and beepers; the sharing of intelligence, including the names of suspected guerrilla collaborators; the sharing of fighters, including active-duty soldiers serving in paramilitary units and paramilitary commanders lodging on military bases; the sharing of vehicles, including army trucks used to transport paramilitary fighters; coordination of army roadblocks, which routinely let heavily armed paramilitary fighters pass; and payments made from paramilitaries to military officers for their support. In the words of one Colombian municipal official, the relationship between Colombian military units, particularly the army, and paramilitaries is a 'marriage'. (Human Rights Watch Report, 2001, p. 1)

In its third Special Report on Colombia, the Inter-American Commission of Human Rights (an organ of the Organization of American States) made similar assertions of state involvement in the assassination of trade unionists.

The apparent convergence of interests between the paramilitary groups, which attack labor unions and official persecution lends credence to allegations that State agents are either directly involved in the violent attacks against labor union members or encourage and support such attacks. It is also suggested that paramilitary groups receive intelligence information necessary to carry out attacks against union member targets from the State's security forces. These allegations are further supported by the fact that the State's security forces have in fact prepared intelligence reports, sometimes made public or used in criminal proceedings in the regional justice system, which identify labor union leaders as guerrilla collaborators based on their union work. (Inter-American Commission of Human Rights, 1999, para. 18)

Political violence across Colombia increased markedly during the 1990s at the same time as the rapid growth of these right-wing paramilitaries (World Bank, 1999), and these paramilitaries appear to be responsible for the majority of human rights violations (Human

Rights Watch, 1996, 2000). The paramilitaries saw trade unionists, along with social movements and popular organisations, as legitimate military targets. The United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights annual reports (UNHCR, 2001, para. 178) regularly note that FECODE has been one of the worst affected by this paramilitary policy.

6.5.3 Recent political developments in Colombia

In 1998, under the presidency of Andres Pastrana, Colombia became the biggest recipient of US aid via Plan Colombia, a multibillion-dollar, largely military aid package officially aimed at eliminating the drug trade. After a peace process with the FARC collapsed in 2002, the stage was set for an intensification of the conflict, and in 2002 Alvaro Uribe Velez was elected on a mandate for a hard-line military solution. Despite increased military operations, one of the central arguments of the Uribe administration has been that it has managed to reduce the number of human rights violations against trade unionists since coming to power. Figure 6.2, which compares assassination of trade unionists overall (red) with that of education sector trade unionists (blue), shows a tendency towards declining numbers of assassinations in both categories after 2002.

However, many respondents attribute the decrease in murders of trade unionists to a shift in the nature of the Colombian conflict since President Uribe came to power, rather than to resolution of the conflict. Many in the trade union movement interpret Uribe's election as the coming to power of the paramilitary project in Colombia. Since then Uribe has negotiated a peace deal with the AUC, the biggest paramilitary grouping, and this has led to a process of demobilisation under a 'justice and peace law'. The law provides

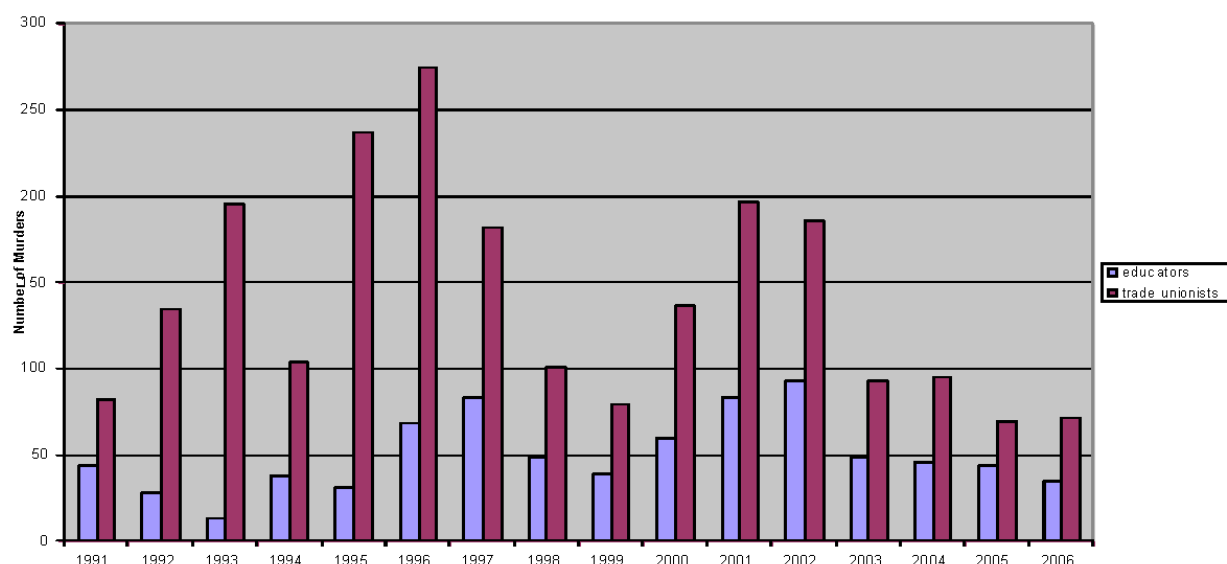


Figure 6.2 Number of trade unionists murdered in Colombia, overall and in the education sector, 1991–2006. (Source: Escuela Nacional Sindical, 2007.)

for reduced sentences for paramilitary human rights violations in return for sworn confessions (for a powerful critique see Amnesty International, 2005).

For many in the opposition movements this does not represent a ‘peace process’ because they assert that the paramilitaries were at war not with the state but with the guerrillas. Instead they see it as a means to reintegrate—and to an extent ‘rein-in’—the paramilitaries back into the state. Regardless of the rights and wrongs of the demobilisation process it does appear to have changed the dynamics of the conflict. Commentators have suggested that there is less need for direct paramilitary violence now as the forces behind them have effectively taken *de facto* political control of many parts of the country (Romero, 2007).

This assertion is backed up by an ongoing political scandal in Colombia, known as the ‘parapolítica’, which has shown links between politicians elected in 2001, and supportive of Uribe, and the paramilitary organisations. These politicians are alleged to have signed ‘the pact of Rialto’: a signed pledge committing themselves to the paramilitary project. Since then 14 members of the Colombian Congress, the Chief of the Secret Police, two departmental governors, six mayors and 15 other politicians have all been arrested and accused of working with the paramilitaries. Furthermore, there has been a full senate parliamentary debate on the alleged direct links of the current Colombian president, Alvaro Uribe Velez, to drug traffickers and paramilitary organisations. As a 2007 book by Romero has shown, the position of the Colombian state as an ‘innocent’ party caught between two warring factions (paramilitaries and guerrillas) is no longer tenable:

The ‘parapolítica’ has demonstrated that the state was not a victim. It appears that an important section of national and regional elites with a decisive presence in the state—as high government functionaries or as members placed there by popular vote—have aligned themselves with paramilitaries and drug traffickers to consolidate their dominance in and outside the state and alter the political contest. In this business, in a very short time, they produced numbers of deaths and disappeared similar or superior to that of the Southern Cone in the 1970s and 1980s and unleashed a tide of displacement of the civilian population much bigger and more painful than any of those governments. (Romero, 2007, p. 10)²

Furthermore, although the paramilitaries have consolidated political and economic power in many regions, a new paramilitary force ‘Las Aquilas Negras’ (the Black Eagles) has emerged with very similar practices to those of the AUC; it threatens a new upsurge of political violence against trade union and social movements in Colombia.

² La parapolítica vino a demostrar que el Estado no era ninguna víctima. Resultó que una parte importante de las elites regionales y nacionales con una presencia decisiva en el Estado —ya como altos funcionarios del gobierno o como miembros destacados de los órganos de elección popular— se coaligaron con paramilitares y narcotraficantes para consolidar su predominio dentro y fuera del Estado y alterar la competencia política. En esa empresa produjeron en corto tiempo cifras de muertos y desaparecidos similares o superiores a las dictaduras del Cono Sur en los años setenta y ochenta y desataron una ola de desplazamiento de la población civil más grande y dolorosa que la de aquellos gobiernos *de facto*.

Having set out a brief history of recent political violence in Colombia, I return to the particular case of political violence within the education sector to demonstrate the way the armed conflict in Colombia infringes, on a daily basis, the right to quality education.

6.6 Education and conflict in Colombia

The education system in Colombia has been affected directly and indirectly by the ongoing armed conflict. First, a significant portion of state spending on education budgets has come under pressure from the government's needs to cut costs to fund the armed conflict. Between 1991 and 2002 Colombian government military spending more than doubled (from 1.7% to 3.6% of gross domestic product, GDP; SIPRI, 2007). Meanwhile, spending on education has been far more erratic, reflecting skewed and changing priorities. Between 1994 and 1996 spending increased from 3.09% of GDP to 5.03%. By 1999 this had dropped to 2.74% in response to fiscal austerity measures (Comisión Colombiana de Juristas, CCJ, 2004). Between 2000 and 2004 this increased from 3.6% to 5.1% (Corpoeducación, 2006). However, spending on education as a percentage of total government spending decreased from 16.9% to 11.7% between 1999 and 2004 (UNESCO, 2006a, p. 316).

Second, although progress has been made towards Education For All targets (net primary enrolment increased from 69% in 1991 to 83% in 2004; UNESCO statistics suggest that 87% of boys and girls together are in primary school), of the 13% of children who are out of school, many have been displaced by the armed conflict. Furthermore, as Tomasevski (2006, p. 201) notes: "The scope of exclusion from education is not known because guesstimates of the size, structure and distribution of the population are based on the 1993 census." According to CODHES (2006), of the more than 3 million people who have been displaced due to the conflict in Colombia, over half are of school-attending age.

Third, many schools become directly embroiled in the conflict, particularly in rural areas. The Colombian Commission of Jurists (CCJ, 2004, p. 68) noted that between 1996 and 2003, 71 schools suffered attacks by guerrillas, paramilitaries and state agents, often during combat between the different groups. In interviews several teachers mentioned how the military and police would often set up camp close to schools, particularly in rural areas, in clear violation of international humanitarian law. Similarly, schools have often been used by the different armed groups both as a place to sleep and as a place to hold meetings for the purpose of political propaganda in rural areas.

Fourth, students have been forcibly recruited from schools by both guerrilla and paramilitary groups. Human Rights Watch (2003) estimates that there are more than 11,000 child soldiers in Colombia. The Colombian military have also used schools as potential terrains for recruiting soldiers and informants. In Arauca, a recent Colombian military campaign entitled 'Soldier for a Day' took children to military barracks where they

could dress up in camouflage and learn about helicopters and armed cars (CCJ, 2004, p. 64).

Fifth, the CCJ (2004, p. 60) estimated that 186 students were murdered for socio-political reasons between 1996 and 2003.

Sixth, in some areas teaching staff have come under pressure from local paramilitary organisations concerning the content of their classes (Cameron, 2001).

Seventh, experiencing events like the above has a strong psychological effect on both children and teachers, and the CCJ (2004) estimates that since 1991 over 1,000 teachers have permanently left their jobs through fear of violence.

Finally, and I think particularly important for this study, is the relationship between conflict, education and neoliberal restructuring. Although neoliberal restructuring within the education sector has taken place across the world, it can have particular ramifications when it takes place in a zone of conflict, as is the case in Colombia. When teachers and students challenge or resist measures of decentralisation, fiscal austerity or privatisation in Colombia—as others have done elsewhere—there is a tendency for the protest to become highly polarised and for leaders and activists to be targeted by both state and paramilitary forces as ‘subversives’. In this sense, the major education trade unions become easy targets of attack during periods of neoliberal restructuring and are liable to suffer human rights violations.

Having set out some of the factors linking education to the armed conflict in Colombia, in the next section I explore the specificities of human rights violations against educators.

6.6.1 How are educators’ human rights violated?

6.6.1.1 The facts and figures

As we can see from Table 6.1, between 1991 and 2006 a total of 808 educators were assassinated, 2,015 received death threats, 21 were tortured, 59 ‘disappeared’, 1,008 were forced to leave their homes and jobs for fear of violence, and 161 were arbitrarily detained. Note that the statistics cover members and advisers of FECODE, the Sindicato Nacional de Trabajadores y Empleados Universitarios de Colombia (SINTRAUNICOL), the Asociación Sindical de Profesores Universitarios (ASPU), the Sindicato Nacional de Trabajadores de Servicio Nacional de Aprendizaje (SINDISENA), and several smaller education-related unions. However, the vast majority of unionised education workers and victims of human rights violations are members of FECODE: Hence in this report my focus is on them.

Table 6.1

Human rights violations (selected types) against educators, 1991–2006

Year	Murder	Death threat	Arbitrary detention	Disappearance	Forced displacement	Torture
1991	44	2	0	1	0	3
1992	28	3	3	1	0	5
1993	14	0	0	3	0	0
1994	38	0	0	2	0	3
1995	31	1	0	4	0	4
1996	69	163	32	6	1	0
1997	84	285	10	1	261	0
1998	49	228	1	3	425	0
1999	39	365	6	3	26	0
2000	60	37	31	13	136	2
2001	84	49	7	7	26	0
2002	94	20	1	4	3	0
2003	49	212	7	3	89	0
2004	46	329	15	5	30	1
2005	44	186	44	1	8	1
2006	35	135	4	2	3	2
Total	808	2,015	161	59	1,008	21

Source: Escuela Nacional Sindical, 2007.

6.6.2 Assassinations

The violation of ‘the right to life’ is a common form of political violence in Colombia. The clandestine nature of counterinsurgency strategy used by both the paramilitaries and the Colombian military often makes it difficult to know who carried out the murder and why. In Colombia it is estimated that 96% of murders are never solved and remain in impunity (CCJ, 2004). For this reason one can often only speculate on the likely authors (both actual and intellectual) and the motives. For some cases the murder occurs after a series of death threats and thus can be linked to particular organisations. However, in many cases there is no clear evidence. In interviews it was clear that paramilitaries were seen as the main activator; cases of guerrilla movements (particularly the FARC) assassinating educators appeared to be less systematic and widespread. The rationale for this type of assassination may be the need to eliminate particular educators or to spread fear in order to deter

others from engaging in trade union or political activity. It may also serve as a general warning to the population, particularly in rural areas, where the status of the teacher is seen to be higher. One illustrative case of a paramilitary assassination was documented in a UNICEF-sponsored book, where a child witness noted:

Not long afterwards my teacher was killed. Some men wearing masks came into the classroom and shot him, right in the middle of our lessons. They didn't give him a chance to say anything. One of the masked men lifted our teacher's dead body by the back of his shirt and spoke to us. "This man had to die because he was teaching you bad ideas. We can kill all of you as well so don't get any bad ideas if you want to stay alive." (Cameron, 2001)

As we can see from Figure 6.3, the patterns of assassinations are geographically uneven. The highest number of assassinations against educators between 1991 and 2007 took place in Antioquia (247; 31% of total), and there were significant numbers in Cordoba (6%), Arauca (4%), Norte de Santander (4%), Valle (4%) and Narino (4%).

Figure 6.4 groups the assassinations into three 5-year time periods (1992–1997; 1997–2002; 2002–2007) and shows both temporal and regional variations. Although Antioquia was still the worst region by far in all three periods, there was a significant drop in the number of assassinations between 2002 and 2007. In Cordoba there was a sharp increase in the number of assassinations (from 13 to 23) in the period 1997–2002. In Arauca there was a sharp increase in the number of assassinations during the 2002–2007 period. In Valle de Cauca, Narino, Cauca and Caldas there was an increase in the number of assassinations of educators in both the 1997–2002 and the 2002–2007 periods. These patterns

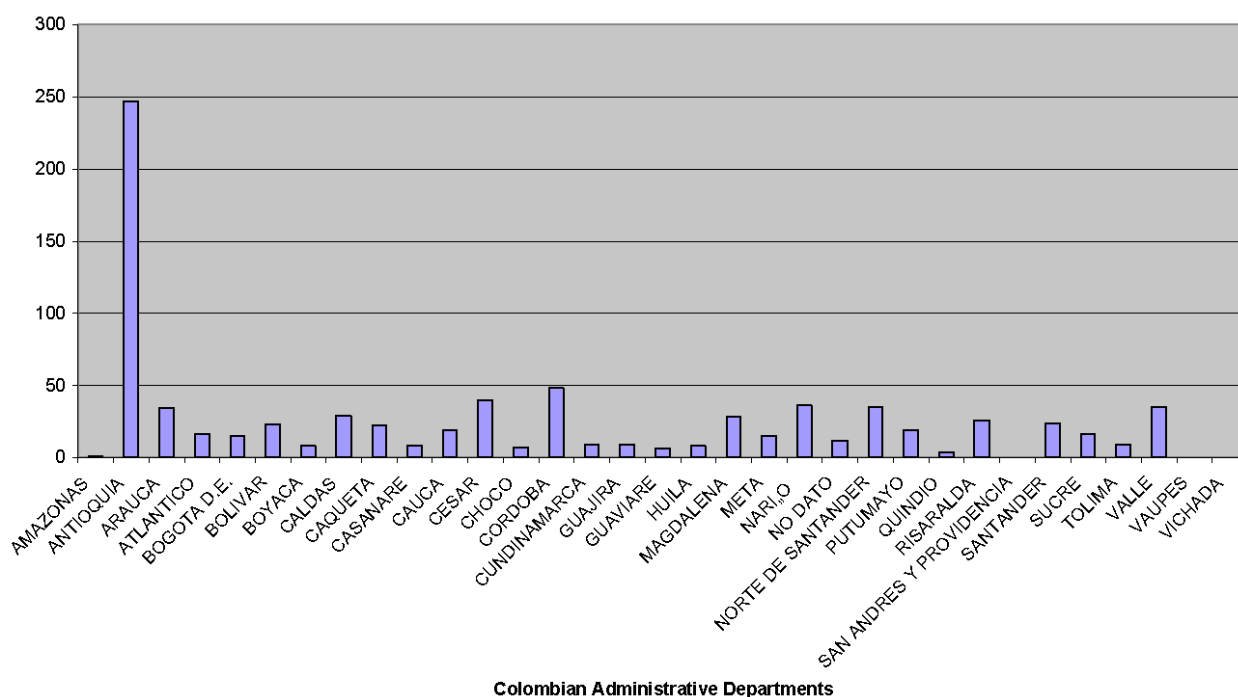


Figure 6.3 Number of assassinations of teacher trade unionists in regions of Colombia, 1991–2006. (Source: Escuela Nacional Sindical, 2007.)

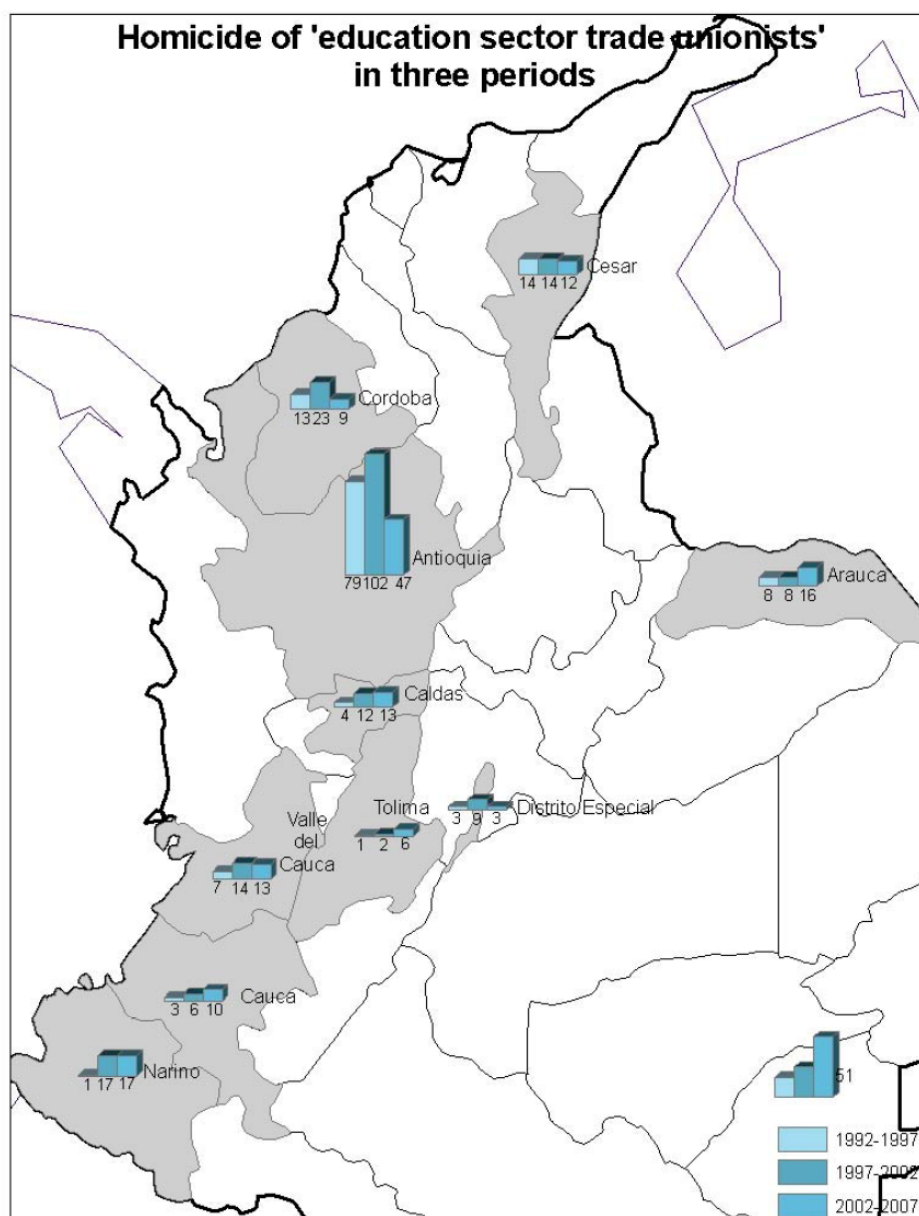


Figure 6.4 Number of homicides of education sector trade unionists in regions of Colombia during three periods. (Source: Escuela Nacional Sindical, 2007.)

reflect the geographical expansion of the paramilitary project between 1997 and 2007, spreading out from Antioquia across the country.

6.6.3 Death threats

One of the most common methods of political violence used against Colombian educators is use of the death threat. This can take various forms: an anonymous telephone call notifying the person that they are on a 'military' list; a flyer sent to the trade union headquarters or the school with a list of names of targeted people accompanied by the logo of

the particular paramilitary organisation; a tip-off from an anonymous caller warning the person that they are on a list; graffiti on walls; or a condolence card known in Colombia as a 'sofragio', which would normally be sent to people after the death of a relative but in this case is sent to the victim pre-announcing their future death, or sometimes the death of their children or family members.

Death threats serve as a warning to both the victim and others associated with them (family and fellow trade unionists) that their trade union or political activity is dangerous and is likely to result in a violent outcome. They also destabilise the trade union organisation, increasing levels of suspicion and fear among members and decreasing the likelihood of more people getting involved in trade union activities. Death threats often aim to prevent certain activities by the victim: for example, a victim might be a witness in a court case, have documentation about corruption, have been witness to a particular activity or be carrying out an activity that the organisation or individual sending the death threat wants them to stop.

Once a direct death threat has been received, the victim's life is often irreversibly changed in a range of ways: Suddenly personal and family security are paramount concern, and all public movement becomes filled with fear and anxiety. This fear of attack begins to affect the victim's life, forcing them to rethink their activities and responsibilities, and they often come under pressure from family to stop their trade union and political activities. Depending on the perceived severity of the threat, the person may choose to leave their city and either move internally or, where possible, emigrate, with further consequences. The worst outcome is that the death threat is carried out, but the threat is much more than the pre-announcement of imminent death, and it has powerful psychological effects. Statistics show that the death threat has been a pervasive feature of political violence against educators throughout the period under study and remains at very high levels today.

As Figure 6.5 shows, Antioquia once again is the location for a high number of death threats against educators. However, unlike assassinations, there was a sharp increase in violations in the period between 2002 and 2007, from 224 to 397 reported cases, reflecting shifts in the nature and type rather than cessation of human rights violations during the Uribe period. Figure 6.5 also shows the large increase in the number of death threats in the region of Cesar, from 0 reported cases between 1992 and 1997 to 197 between 1997 and 2002. The increase in death threats in Arauca during the period 2002–2007 coincides with the Uribe government declaring the region a 'special rehabilitation zone' and increasing the militarisation of the region.

6.6.4 Forced displacement

Forced displacement is often a result of the receipt of a direct death threat, but there are also other causes. Mass forced displacement, where whole communities are forced to

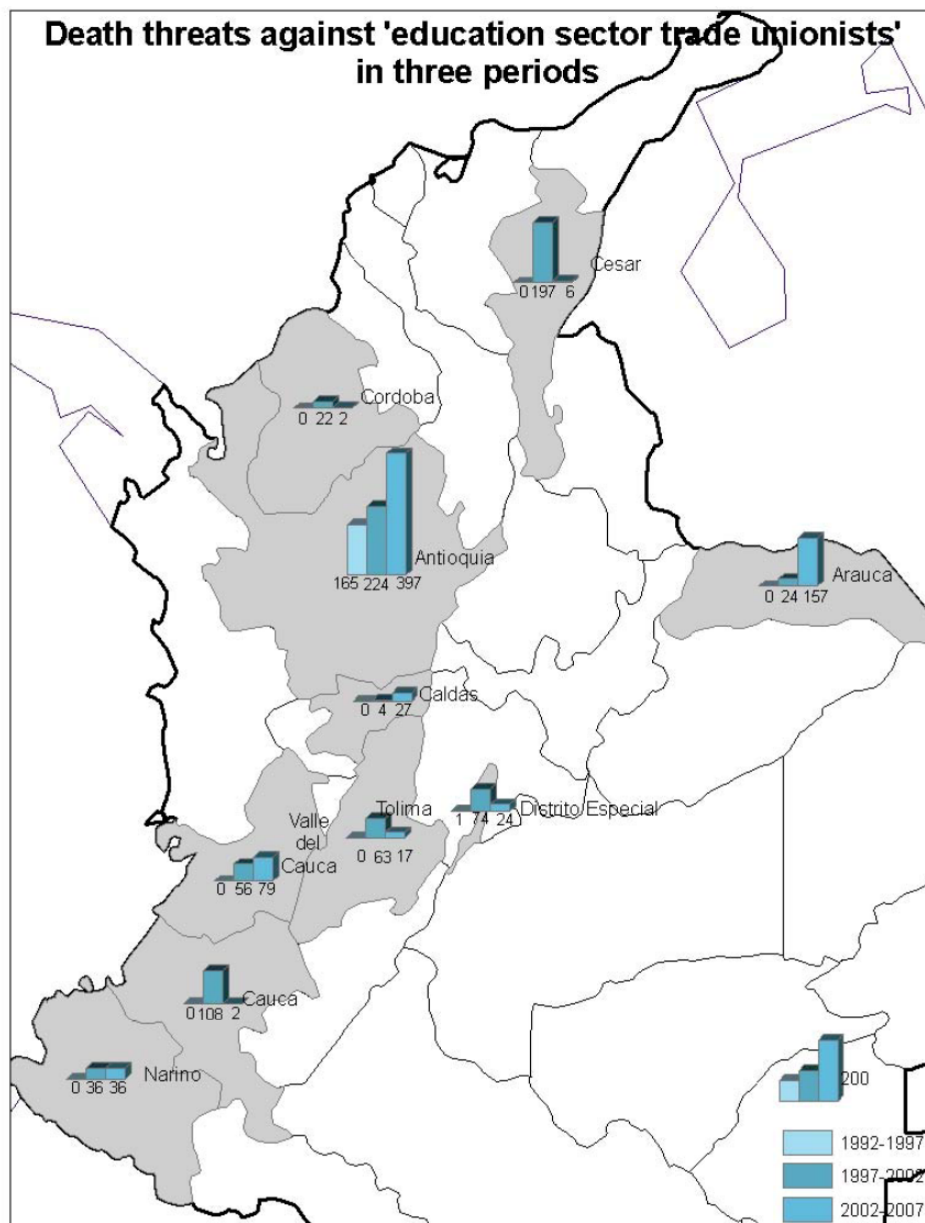


Figure 6.5 Number of death threats against education sector trade unionists in regions of Colombia during three periods. (Source: Escuela Nacional Sindical, 2007.)

flee their homes, is extensive in Colombia and is mainly a rural phenomenon. In the case of the black communities in the Valle de Cauca department it appeared to be caused by massacres carried out mainly by right-wing paramilitaries—often with Colombian military complicity—which led the rest of the village to flee in fear [interview with the leader of the Proceso de Comunidades Negras de Colombia (PCN), 2007]. Teachers are victims of the same types of human rights violation as are other members of rural communities.

Another major cause has been armed confrontation between the guerrillas and the Colombian military or the paramilitaries, or both, with similar consequences. In 2003,

in the Department of Bolivar, an estimated 12,000 children were unable to enter their schools because 125 schools had been closed as a result of teachers fleeing the fighting between armed groups (IPS, Inter Press Service, 2003). Accusations of collaboration with one side or the other also appear to have led to mass displacements (interview with FECODE leader, 2007).

In several interviews it was noted that teachers in rural areas are often displaced after accusations of collaboration with armed activators. In many rural areas schools are the only possible public meeting place and thus may be used by armed groups to spread their particular political propaganda. Later, when a different armed group enters the village, educators are accused of collaborating with the previous group.

Incidents of mass forced displacement, particularly those linked to massacres, have usually been caused by right-wing paramilitaries and appear to be linked to interests relating to land control and ownership, drug routes and natural resource control (Romero, 2007). Much of the forced displacement has occurred in areas of rich natural resources and often where the most vulnerable and poor communities (the indigenous community and black communities) lived. Displacement is the intentional outcome of terror tactics and efforts to secure land rights and strategic territorial control. When there is armed confrontation between the different factions, displacement is often an unintended outcome. As we can see from Figure 6.6 the major regions affected by forced displacement of educators were Antioquia, Cesar, Valle de Cauca during the 1997–2002 period, followed by a sharp decline in the 2002–2007 period. This contrasts with Arauca, which saw a large increase in the number of displacements during the 2002–2007 period, reflecting the changing nature and geography of the Colombian conflict.

6.6.5 Arbitrary detention

Since the election of Alvaro Uribe Velez and the expansion of counter-guerrilla military operations, there has been a sharp increase in the militarisation of certain areas of the country and a linked rise in mass arrests and arbitrary detention. Educators have not been immune to this process. In the region of Arauca many teachers have been arbitrarily detained and accused of ‘rebellion’, which carries a potential life sentence. Often cases are dropped for lack of evidence, but by then teachers have been stigmatised as members of the insurgency and have often lost their jobs and sometimes their homes and family. One well-publicised case was that of Samuel Morales and Raquel Castro, who on 4 August 2004 were witnesses to the murder of three trade unionists by the Colombian military. After initially claiming that the murdered trade unionists were guerrillas and were killed in a shoot-out, the army was eventually forced to admit that it was responsible for the unprovoked murder of all three. Samuel and Raquel were both active educators and trade unionists and were later charged with rebellion. Their case was taken up by Amnesty International as prisoners of conscience. Samuel was eventually released on the 28 April

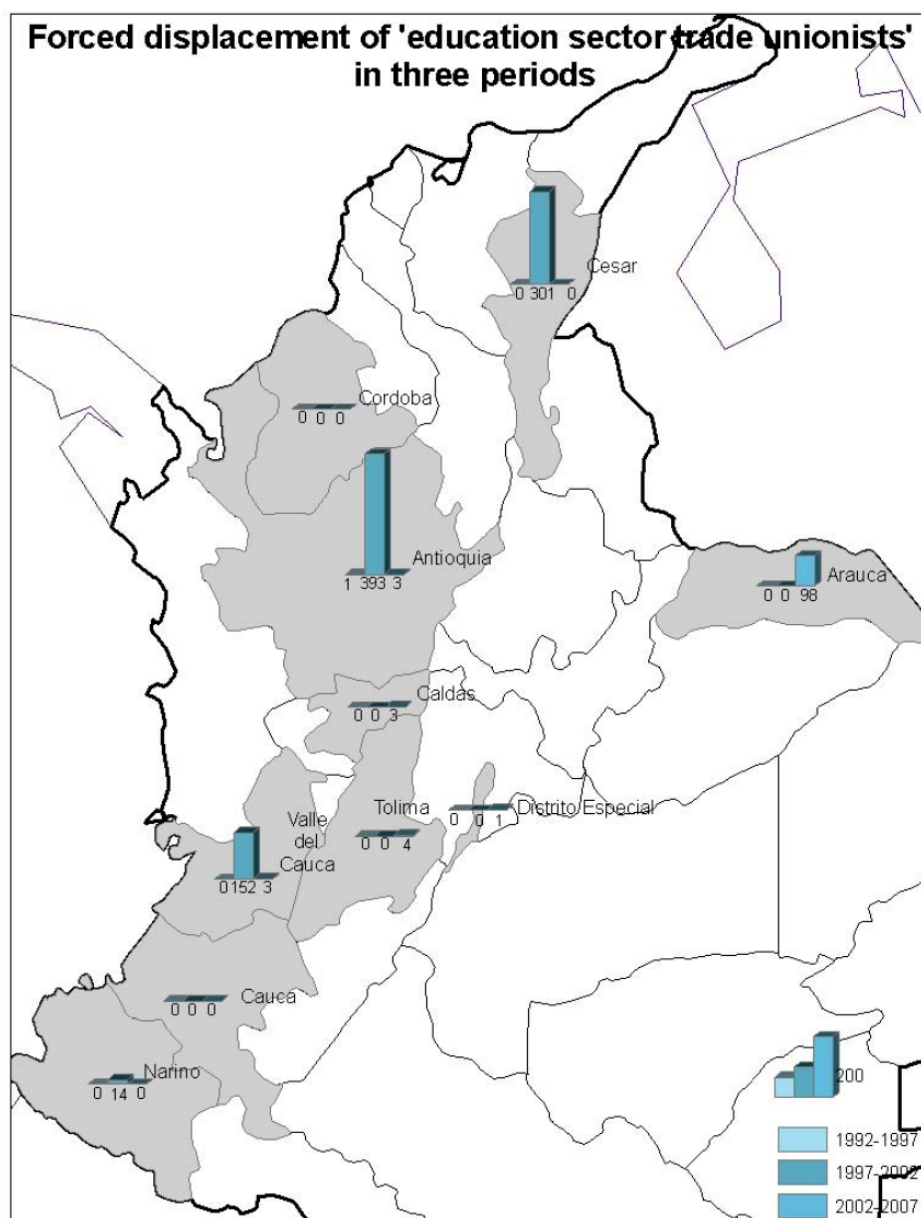


Figure 6.6 Forced displacement of education sector trade unionists in regions of Colombia during three periods. (Source: Escuela Nacional Sindical, 2007.)

2007 and Raquel Castro on 2 August 2007, both having served nearly three years in prison. Neither can return to their jobs, both have been displaced from their hometowns, and they continue to live in fear of further 'legal' and 'illegal' persecution.

Although some trade union and social leaders who are arbitrarily detained are members of armed guerrilla groups, the majority of teachers are not. So what then is the rationale for this type of violation? Samuel Morales speculated from his temporary home in Bogotá on the day after his release. Arbitrary detention displaces the activist from their home

and political roots and often costs them their job, and sometimes their family. Therefore for the state it is an effective mechanism for neutralising social and trade union activists without incurring the wrath of the international community that is produced by assassination, disappearances and torture (interview with Samuel Morales, April 2007).

Incidences of arbitrary detention of educators are shown in Figure 6.7.

6.6.6 Forced disappearances

‘Disappearances’ were associated with the dark years of military dictatorships in the Southern Cone (Chile, Argentina, Paraguay) and form part of the core techniques of counter-insurgency policy (McClintock, 1985). ASFADDES (Asociación de Familiares de Detenidos Desaparecidos; the national committee for the families of the disappeared) estimated that over 7,000 people disappeared in Colombia between 1982 and 2004 (ASFADDES, 2005); the majority of them were active in trade unions, student organisations and social movements. ASFADDES attributed the majority of disappearances to paramilitary organisations and/or state security forces.

According to ENS, 59 educators disappeared between 1991 and 2006. A high-profile disappearance in the education sector was that of Gilberto Agudelo Martínez, the President of SINTRAUNICOL (Colombian University Workers Union). He disappeared on 6 April 2000, and paramilitaries later claimed responsibility (Amnesty International, 2001). Five years later, on 13 October 2005, after information was given by an AUC informant, his mutilated body was exhumed (ICFTU, 2007, p. 117). The rationale for disappearances encompasses many of the reasons explained earlier. Disappearance has an additional impact because it causes fear and distress in family members who do not know where their loved ones are or what has happened to them. Incidents of disappearances of educators are shown in Figure 6.8.

Having considered regional and time factors affecting political violence against teachers, I now explore the strategies of protection developed over recent years by the organised education community in order to address this security catastrophe.

6.7 What strategies have been developed to mitigate and manage the violence?

In response to the violence initiatives to address teacher insecurity have been developed. These include human rights training and the provision of special protection measures for threatened teachers. In this section I outline some of these initiatives.

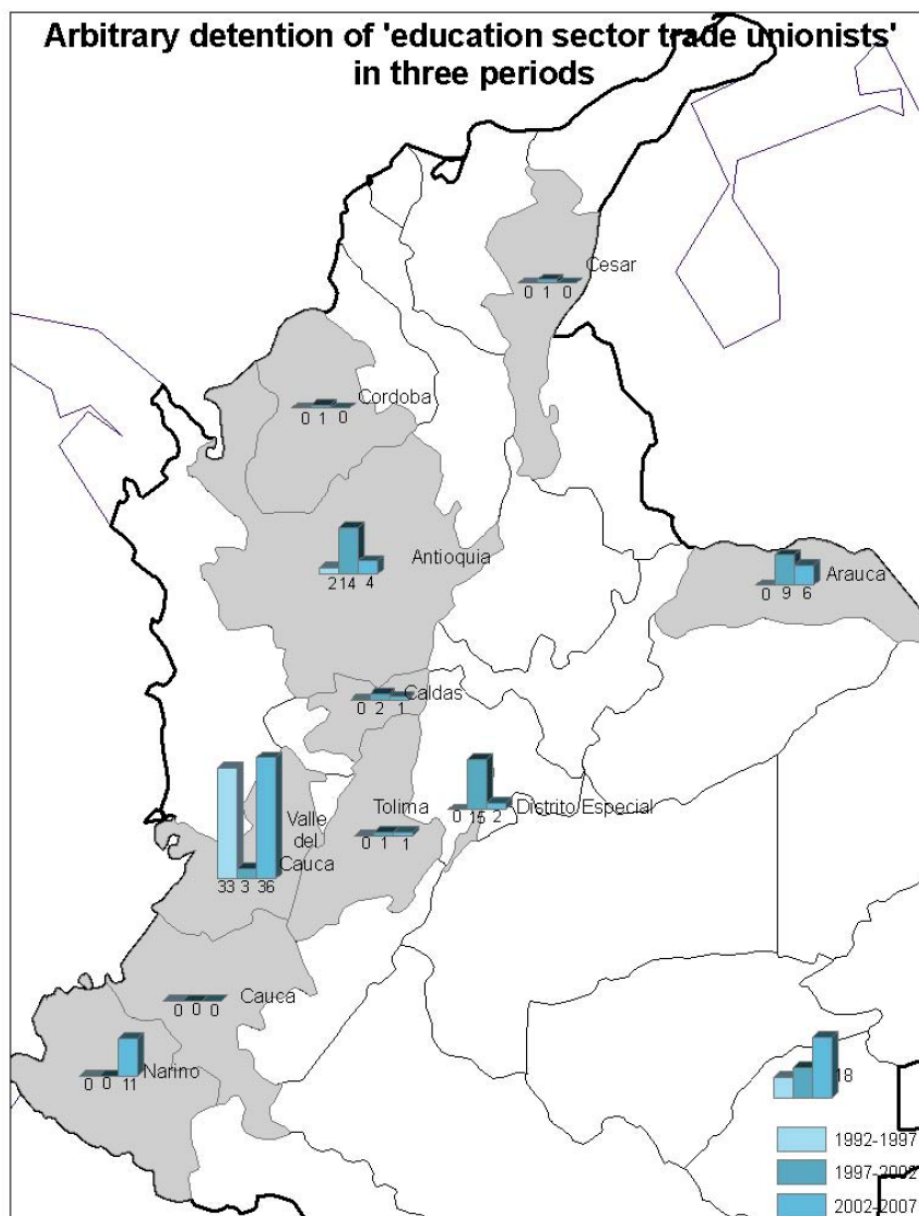


Figure 6.7 Arbitrary detention of education sector trade unionists in regions of Colombia during three periods. (Source: Escuela Nacional Sindical, 2007.)

6.7.1 National legal and judicial protection measures

Sustained pressure from FECODE on the government to address the plight of threatened and displaced teachers has resulted in a series of legal provisions. Decree 1707 of 1989, Decree 1645 of 1992, and Decree 3222 of 2003 allow threatened teachers to be relocated to different parts of the administrative department or, if necessary, to another department, without loss of earnings. Through these legal procedures special committees have

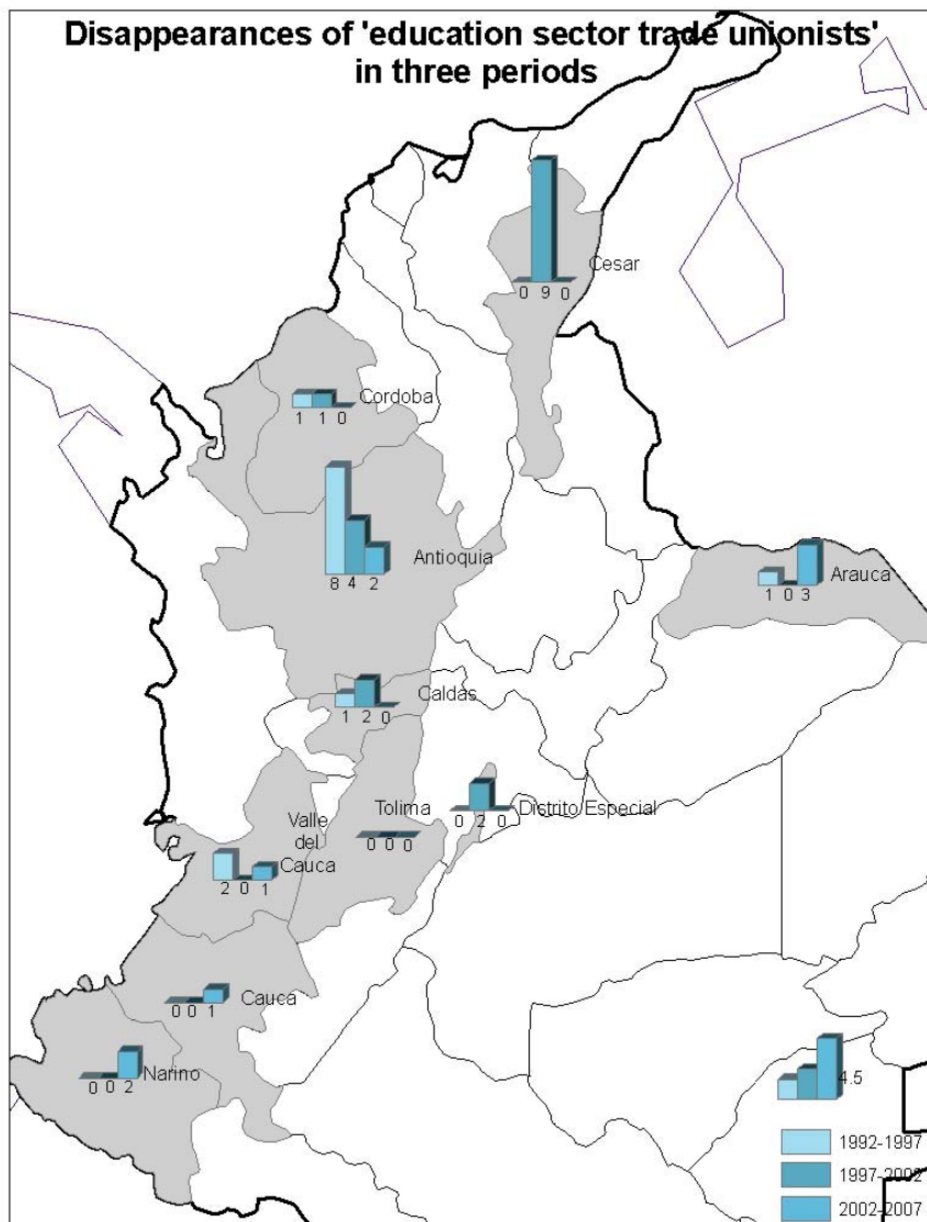


Figure 6.8 Disappearances of education sector trade unionists in regions of Colombia during three periods. (Source: Escuela Nacional Sindical, 2007.)

been set up in each department to deal with death threats and displacement of teachers. The special committees are composed of representatives from the Ministry of Education, the departmental educational authority, FECODE and the regional public prosecutor (or representative thereof). The committee evaluates the level of risk in each individual case and provides temporary and permanent solutions in accordance, as much as possible, with the wishes of the threatened teacher. Funds to cover the cost of moving family and belongings to the new location and special protection measures are provided. There is

also provision for inter-departmental agreements to allow teachers to move to a different Colombian Department if necessary.

In 2003 the Working Group on the Human Rights of Teachers was created: It includes FECODE, the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR) and various Colombian state authorities that assess the risk of individual teachers, and it provides administrative and financial support. To date over 300 teachers have been beneficiaries of 'special protection measures', which include mobile phones, armed bodyguards and bullet-proof vehicles. Measures provided by the Committee for the Evaluation of Risks for Trade Unionists are listed in Table 6.2.

However, there are disputes about the efficacy of these measures to protect teachers and a lack of trust between education trade unions and Colombian authorities (interview with a senior FECODE official, 2007). Many of the informants emphasised that neither the decrees to facilitate teacher mobility nor the special protection measures were sufficient to protect threatened teachers fully, nor did they address the underlying roots of the violence directed at teachers. Furthermore, in many areas the committees were not function-

Table 6.2
Protection measures provided by
the Committee for the Evaluation of Risks
for Trade Unionists

	Number
Beneficiaries	302
Departments covered	28
Trade unions attended	33
Means of protection	
Radio phones	33
Mobile phones	53
Protection schemes	22
National travel tickets	36
International travel tickets	17
Temporary relocation support	363
Support for moving	8
Other humanitarian assistance	2
Bulletproofing of union headquarters	10
Bullet-proof jackets	29

ing. Nevertheless, those interviewed felt that the measures were worthwhile, although they needed to be strengthened, and that the balance of decision-making power needed to shift in favour of the victims of the violations and their representatives.

6.7.2 Setting up of human rights departments in each affiliate

During the 1990s, in response to the widespread human rights violations against teachers, FECODE began the process of setting up human rights commissions in each of its affiliates in order to create a National Human Rights Network. The role of the human rights commission is as follows: to represent teachers in the special committee for threatened and displaced teachers; to coordinate work with other NGO and human rights organisations at local, departmental, national and international levels; to raise awareness of human rights violations against teachers and to train representatives in different areas of the department; to maintain and manage a database of human rights statistics for the teachers' union; and to raise awareness among teachers of human rights issues and mechanisms for their protection (interview with FECODE senior official, 2007).

This process was consolidated in 2004 through a human rights training programme³ jointly supported by Education International, the US-based National Education Association (NEA) and FECODE. Three training manuals on human rights, international humanitarian law and conflict resolution were produced, which were tailored towards the needs of human rights activists within FECODE, and training was carried out across the country. The courses provided participants with a comprehensive understanding of the roots of the Colombian conflict, the history of human rights and international humanitarian law, and the skills and strategies for defending human rights locally, regionally, nationally and internationally through the Colombian courts and organisations such as the Organization of American States Inter-American Human Rights Court. Despite these advances, it was widely recognised that coordination and organisation within and between the different commissions needed to be strengthened and that there was little systematic work being carried out either regionally or nationally. Furthermore, the quality of the work carried out by the different human rights commissions of affiliated organisations was highly variable, because of lack of resources and experience and also because some affiliates do not give priority to human rights work (interview with FECODE senior official, 2007).

6.7.3 International involvement with the human rights movement

At the international level the human rights department of FECODE has facilitated the involvement of major human rights organisations in the trade union's situation, and rep-

³The full title of the project was 'Prevención de la violación de derechos humanos en Colombia: hacia una red nacional e internacional por la prevención, protección y defensa de los derechos humanos de las educadoras y educadores'.

representatives of Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch have intervened several times. These organisations engage in lobbying, the production and distribution of 'urgent actions', the compilation of reports on the human rights situation in the region, and high-level visits to representatives of the armed forces, the government and supranational organisations such as the United Nations Commission for Human Rights (UNCHR). Amnesty and Human Rights Watch protection to the union's leaders so that they can carry out their activities. The organisations have particular skills and abilities to influence governments by applying selective pressure and by lobbying.

Closely related to this network is the role of the supranational labour and human rights bodies, such as the Inter-American Human Rights Court, which have the ability to sanction national governments for the failure to enforce and protect human rights. They are the supranational equivalent of state labour and justice departments and have the power to sanction states rather than individuals.

FECODE, with the assistance of national human rights organisations, has taken several cases to the Inter-American Human Rights Court. One landmark case was that of the teacher and trade union leader Isidro Caballero and a friend, Carmen Santos, who disappeared on 7 February 1989 and were subsequently murdered by members of the Colombian military in the department of Santander. After an extensive investigation, the Inter-American Human Rights Court on 21 December 1992 found the Colombian government responsible for their murders, and the government was ordered to pay compensation to the families of the victims (CAJSC, 2004). This case is seen as an important milestone in the history of the Colombian human rights movement, as it highlighted not only the military's role in the killings, but also the attempts of state functionaries and departments to cover up the case (CAJSC, 2004).

Two important events that have occurred over recent years suggest that the situation of widespread human rights violations in Colombia is becoming more 'visible'. The first was the setting up in 1996 of a United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights in Colombia whose mandate was to monitor the human rights situation. The second was the creation of a special International Labour Organization (ILO) mission to Colombia; it officially began in June 2007 and represented both a sanction and international recognition of the seriousness of the situation in Colombia. Both actions are seen by the international community as political sanctions for the failure of the Colombian government to provide human rights protection to its citizens.

Despite several positive advances over recent years, representatives of FECODE and several human rights leaders have emphasised the need to improve the coordination with international organisations and the need to develop new contacts and links in a range of countries. Several interviewees also felt that the office of the UNHCHR in Colombia was not pressuring the Colombian government strongly enough.

6.8 Policy recommendations

In the final section I reflect on the empirical evidence presented earlier to support policy recommendations for short-, medium- and long-term solutions, directed towards the wide range of stakeholders that are implicated in resolving the violence against educators in Colombia.

First, interview evidence suggests that although education sector trade unionists have been targeted by all armed actors in the Colombian conflict, the right-wing paramilitaries have been the most prevalent, and there are robust allegations of their strong links with sections of the Colombian state. If this is the case then it is primarily the behaviour of the state and its paramilitary allies that needs to be changed if we are to improve the human rights situation of Colombian educators.

This raises the question of how state and para-state repression can be influenced. Sluka (2000) argues that there are two major theories for why states resort to mass political violence. The first is a 'structural-functional' explanation, which argues that the state is essentially too weak to gain control and legitimacy, and therefore it uses violence as a necessity in order to maintain order and stability. The second is a 'power-conflict' theory, which argues that states use violence because they are unafraid of the consequences, as a result of their strength and unchecked power, not "because the state is weak, but rather because they are strong and can get away with it" (Sluka, 2000, p. 30).

As we have seen, US assistance appears to be based on a 'structural-functional' explanation and seeks to strengthen militarily the 'weak' Colombian state through massive financial aid. However, this may have contributed to the increase rather than the reduction in human rights violations. The 'power-conflict' theory may explain why the Colombian state is involved in human rights violations, and it suggests a different course of action involving the international community in developing mechanisms through which violent state behaviour is modified. In this scenario aid should become conditional on visible improvements in the human rights situation in Colombia and compliance with UN recommendations. Furthermore, military aid to the Colombian government should be replaced with humanitarian aid linked to addressing the widespread poverty and marginalisation of large sections of the Colombian population. Similarly, the international community should encourage the Colombian government to work towards a negotiated settlement with the armed guerrilla groupings, rather than a military solution.

Major international donors appear to have been very slow to criticise the Colombian government for its appalling human rights record, and they have been reluctant to exert their influence to modify its behaviour. Returning to Tomasevski's report on the right to education in Colombia, she notes that: "The failure of what we call 'the international community' to react when a government violates some human rights obligations easily becomes

perceived as a licence to violate them all, as the case of Colombia illustrates clearly and painfully” (Tomasevski, 2006, p. 201).

Second, in order to bring about this type of sharp policy turnaround there is a need for a much more coordinated response from the transnational human rights community in lobbying international organisations and powerful regional and national players (ILO, EU, USA, etc.). This requires better and more systematic documentation of human rights violations in the education sector in Colombia and improvements in data transmission, translation (where necessary) and impact. Much more could be done at the international level to pressure the United States, the EU and other institutions to modify their policies towards Colombia.

Third, international organisations such as the World Bank and the IMF should think carefully about the implications of implementing structural reforms within education, because of their potentially violent outcomes in contexts such as Colombia where opposition is met with widespread violence. Education policy reforms advocated by the major global institutions should be conflict sensitive, just as they are often gender sensitive, to ensure that they are not likely to increase the internal conflict and endanger lives.

Fourth, as a medium-term policy, more work needs to be done inside Colombia, by national government, trade union and human rights organisations and international activators present in Colombia (particularly the ILO and UNHCR) to support the FECODE initiative ‘La escuela: territorio neutral en el conflicto armado’ (the school: a neutral territory in the armed conflict), to try to persuade all of the armed activators in Colombia to respect the educational community and its installations and to recognise their status as civilian non-combatants in the internal civil conflict.

Fifth, at grass-roots regional and local levels there needs to be much more focus and funding for the Committee for the Evaluation of Risks for Trade Unionist in order for it to provide vital resources and protection to threatened teachers, as it often does not have sufficient resources to deal with the tasks it is faced with. Similarly, the quality of the regional committees is highly variable, and more work needs to be done in order to strengthen them.

Sixth, more funding needs to be targeted towards developing a new generation of educators, evenly distributed across the country, who are fluent in human rights norms, values and resources. Success in changing national and international policy in Colombia is dependent on equipping these human rights defenders to deal with the day-to-day challenges of human rights violations in Colombia.

Finally, we need to recognise that violence against educators in Colombia and its possible prevention are transnational phenomena. Military aid, weapons production and sale, and to the provision of bullet-proof vests for threatened teachers all involve activators

operating on local and global scales and through a wide range of state and non-state institutions. Thus we need to develop a strong, coherent transnational policy that is able to understand and link up the various multi-scalar challenges faced by those seeking to improve the human rights situation of educators, and we must deliver well-thought-out transnational responses to those challenges.

7

Teaching in contexts of emergency and state fragility

Jackie Kirk and Rebecca Winthrop

7.1 Introduction to education in emergencies, post-emergencies and contexts of fragility

Human rights laws and conventions, Education For All targets and Millennium Development Goals articulate the right to education of all children.¹ Some international agreements, such as the Geneva Conventions and Refugee Conventions (Center for the Study of Human Rights: CSHR, 1994), apply specifically to children whose lives are affected by war, violence, displacement and the general disruption of normal life. By giving attention to education within broader protection mechanisms for conflict and disaster-affected populations, these agreements recognise the protective function of education. This protection may be the physical protection of a safe learning space away from dangers of the surrounding areas; it may be psychosocial protection provided through interaction with peers and trusted adults with opportunities to be creative and to share concerns and ideas in different ways; it may also be cognitive protection, in the form of new information, skills and attitudes to help children and young people keep themselves and their families safe and healthy in difficult environments (Nicolai and Triplehorn, 2003). Although the humanitarian community has been reluctant to include education as a pillar of humanitarian aid because education is considered a longer term development strategy, the protection provided by education may actually be life-saving. Children and youth may need very specific lessons on relevant, locally determined content to ensure their own survival and that of their families, especially younger siblings. Depending on the context, these lessons might include, for example, education on landmines, health and hygiene, or on avoiding or resisting recruitment into fighting forces. Education on life skills, including

¹The field of education in contexts of fragility has evolved somewhat since Jackie and I originally wrote this piece in 2008. However, the main arguments discussed in this chapter remain valid today.

reproductive health and HIV/AIDS, may also provide vital protection to students—especially to girls, who are often highly vulnerable to early pregnancy, sexually transmitted diseases and HIV/AIDS.

As suggested above, quality education is especially important for children affected by emergencies and to those who are living in contexts of fragility. Teachers have a critical role to play in providing such quality education; they work directly with children and their families and are at the forefront of community efforts to achieve normalcy and to attend to children's physical, cognitive and psychosocial needs (Winthrop and Kirk, 2005). Yet a challenge for organisations supporting education in emergencies is that while the education and protection needs are huge and complex, both the number and the capacity of available teachers are often very low. The low levels of motivation and feelings of frustration and uncertainty about the future felt by many of those teachers exacerbate the problem. Many have become teachers only because of the emergency or fragility and have had little training or professional development to guide them in their work; for the most part, they rely on their own experiences as former students to inform their pedagogy.

Teachers have great potential to positively impact children's lives, but with this limited professional orientation and support, some teachers are abusive and disempowering, and many more may use teaching methods that marginalise certain students and that do not encourage questioning, analysis or critical thinking. While other teachers bring great benefits to their students, we cannot take for granted that schools are always positive and beneficial places for children. Authoritarian and abusive behaviour, including corporal punishment, by teachers, often creates quite the opposite of a healthy and healing classroom environment. It is therefore particularly important to provide effective teacher training, support and professional development, as well as structured, supportive and effective teacher management in these contexts of emergency and state fragility.

This chapter uses data and insights generated through the International Rescue Committee's Healing Classrooms Initiative to highlight issues and challenges related to teachers and teacher management, support and development in emergencies and contexts of fragility. It ends with recommendations on how different education actors can effectively address these challenges.

7.2 The IRC's Healing Classrooms Initiative

The International Rescue Committee (IRC) is an international humanitarian agency committed to ensuring protection and development for children and youth affected by conflict. IRC supports education and child protection programmes in over 20 countries, with a range of responses, from non-formal, child-friendly spaces in the immediate emergency contexts to technical support to ministries of education as they restructure the education system. The IRC's Healing Classroom Initiative is a global organisational learning initiative

focused on the protection, well-being and development of children and youth, with a special focus on teacher support and development. Its efforts began with assessments using qualitative methods to learn more about teachers' lives and experiences and to document existing 'promising practices'. Building on these existing practices and other assessment findings, the initiative has developed and piloted innovative approaches to improving teaching. In emergency and post-crisis contexts, the make-up of the teaching corps usually receives very little attention. The focus of programming and policy attention tends to be on the very practical issues relating to teacher recruitment and basic training. And yet the composition of the teaching force is highly significant. For example, in emergency situations and fragile contexts, 'teachers' are often individuals nominated by the community who lack any teaching experience or even a desire to teach. The gender make-up matters too, because male and female teachers often have very different experiences and priorities.

The Healing Classrooms Initiative (HCI) uses alternative approaches that recognise and build on the different experiences of teachers. These approaches are more holistic, working with the principles of psychosocial well-being and the 'healing' of children and teachers and integrating them with culturally appropriate notions of good teaching. In the first pilot countries of Afghanistan, Ethiopia, Guinea and Sierra Leone, the HCI conducted in-depth initial assessments, and it adopted and closely monitored new, promising practices of teacher development. The lessons from these pilots have concrete implications for IRC policy, programmes and advocacy in each country, and globally. They also provide insights into becoming and being a teacher in contexts of emergency and fragility that will be valuable for the relatively new and practice-oriented field of education in emergencies.

This chapter focuses on the different dimensions of teacher experience, organised in relation to the interconnected themes of teacher identity, motivation and well-being. Data are drawn primarily from action research carried out since 2004 with IRC-supported programmes in the contrasting locations of remote and rural Afghan villages and a refugee camp in northern Ethiopia. Other lessons come from refugee teacher and classroom teacher experiences in Sierra Leone and Guinea, shared during Healing Classrooms assessments in those countries in 2004. Using open-ended interview and questionnaire responses from teachers, we highlight some of the specific experiences, expertise, perceptions and priorities that the teachers bring to their classrooms. We describe the many challenges teachers face every day and the limitations they face in addressing the many complex factors related to children's learning and well-being. We then close by specifying the types of support, motivation and supervision necessary to enable these teachers to fulfil their potential.

7.3 Teacher identity

A wealth of literature attests to the multiple and diverse identities, biographies and experiences of teachers in North American and Western contexts (e.g. Casey, 1993; Clandinin and Connelly, 1995; Erben, 1998; Ginsburg, 1995; Goodson, 1992, 2000; Greene, 1994, 1995; Grumet, 1988; McWilliam, 1999; Mitchell and Weber, 1999; Munro, 1998; Thomas, 1995; Weber and Mitchell, 1995). This literature has greatly informed teacher education programmes, especially in more progressive institutions, which recognise the importance of individual experiences, biographies and identities in teacher professional development. However, in post-conflict and fragile state contexts such as Afghanistan or Ethiopia, very little attention is given to the different expertise, experiences, perceptions and priorities of the teachers. Nor has much attention been given to the issue of how to support teachers in these contexts, when many teachers have gone through traumatic experiences, have pressing economic survival needs, and have different desires and motivations from those teachers in more stable situations.

We use the broad term ‘teacher identity’ to refer to a combination of self-concept as a teacher and awareness of the collective status and roles of teachers in a particular community. To be effective in these emergency and fragile settings, education policy must do more to take teacher identity into account. On one level, programming guidance and good practice have always recognised some of the unique features of teachers’ experience and expertise in emergency situations. However, the focus has tended to be on these teachers’ lack of and need for training. Instead of this deficit model of teacher training, the IRC Healing Classrooms Initiative focuses on what teachers bring to teaching by carefully considering different dimensions of teacher identity. For example, HCI provides in-depth consideration of who the teachers are in relation to the students, parents and community, of the particular dynamics affecting how teachers become teachers, of what this means for them as individuals and as members of families and communities, and of how this relates to the quality of their instruction and ‘duty of care’ for children and youth. We draw out both positive and negative dimensions of the particular experiences of, for example, young refugee teachers in Ethiopia (Kirk and Winthrop, 2007c), of mul-lah-teachers (Kirk and Winthrop, 2007b) and a teenage girl-teacher in rural communities in Afghanistan (Kirk, 2006), and of female refugee classroom assistants in Sierra Leone and Guinea (Kirk and Winthrop, 2007a). We use this analysis to disrupt the deficit model of the teacher and recognise more complex configurations of personal and professional needs, desires, perspectives and priorities. In particular, we highlight the positive contribution of non-traditional teachers. These are men and women who, even when living in difficult situations and with multiple personal and family concerns, are committed to providing education for the children of their community, and they deserve recognition, support and appropriate compensation.

7.3.1 ‘Spontaneous’ and ‘tentative’ teachers

“When we arrived there were no educated men and so we are the best.”

“When we came there were so many children from the community and I thought I had better share what I know. I had never thought about becoming a teacher.”

Women teachers, Ethiopia, February 2004

Teacher spontaneity and tentativeness are related phenomena that both affect the quality of teaching and learning for students. ‘Spontaneous’ refers to how, at a time of crisis or necessity, many of the teachers are merely nominated by the community or nominate themselves to become teachers. Such teachers may never have had a career plan or even desire to become teachers and so may feel understandably conflicted about their entry into the profession. In many Afghan villages, the mullah is the only educated person and so is the sole candidate for communities looking for a possible teacher. Such spontaneous entry into teaching often leads to a certain ‘tentativeness’ about being a teacher. Teachers may feel uncertain about whether they want to remain teachers, especially if other opportunities arise, or they may feel uncertain about how long the community will accept them as teachers if other ‘better teachers’ become available. Even with intensive training and professional support, they may continue to lack confidence in their own skills as teachers. If financial compensation for teachers is non-existent, insubstantial or subject to delays and irregularities, they may be uncertain as to if and when there will be better opportunities for them in alternative professions.

The community-based school teachers in Afghanistan have different demands on their time and energies beyond their teaching commitments. Many are community mullahs and, as such, have duties in and around the mosque, especially at the different prayer times during the day. Some teach in government schools in the mornings and community schools in the afternoons, while others spend their non-teaching time doing household chores or working as casual labourers in the fields around the village. Of the 20 teachers included in the research sample, 3 are still students themselves, studying in the morning in government high schools outside their village and teaching in the afternoons. Another young teacher is a medical student at Kabul University. Several are mullahs; for them becoming a teacher appeared to be less of a vocation than a responsibility that they feel somewhat obliged to take up, given the situation of the community and the lack of other possible and acceptable candidates in the community. Both the mullahs interviewed explained how they accepted community requests for them to establish basic education classes because they see teaching as part of their responsibility to educate the children of the community. One mullah explained that as the Prophet Mohammed was proud to be a teacher, so he is too.

In-depth interviews with the male and female teachers in the refugee school in Ethiopia highlighted critical issues related to how they felt as teachers and how they understood their role and status in the community (Kirk, 2004). Various teachers articulated

how contradictory their teacher identity was; most of them had never before considered becoming—or even wanted to become—teachers, and most had not yet completed their own secondary school education. Rather, as the Kunama had fled Eritrea and settled in a temporary camp in 2001, community leaders identified the most educated men and women and requested them to teach. In the absence of more qualified and more experienced Kunama teachers, most of the teachers nominated were young teenagers who had been in the process of completing their secondary education. To allow recruitment of women teachers, the entry requirement had to be lowered to primary school completion.

IRC soon started to support the school in Ethiopia by providing basic teacher training. Despite the IRC teacher training seminars and the obvious progress that had been made in their teaching skills, the participating teachers still felt somewhat uncertain about their teacher identity. They were very aware of their own limitations and quite under-confident about their ability to be a ‘real’ teacher. The few women teachers, in particular, expressed how awkward it was for them. They knew they were the best educated and therefore the most suitable teachers, and they knew also that if they did not teach, the children would be without educational opportunities. Yet at the same time, they were uncomfortable in the role: Not having completed school themselves, they felt they could not be good teachers.

These elements of spontaneity and tentativeness are absent from the literature on teachers and teacher biography, but they are crucial for understanding teachers in these emergency and fragile contexts. They have both positive and negative implications for the children’s experience. The limitations in terms of teacher quality are obvious and are often addressed through teacher training interventions. Furthermore, teachers’ tentativeness and loose attachment to the profession may lead to serious interruptions in children’s education. Yet at the same time, the fact that the teachers are not seasoned professionals may have some positive implications for children, as discussed below.

7.3.2 ‘Alternatively qualified’ teachers

“When there was a shortage of teachers in the camp we acted as if we were professionals. . . . Well, starting from Walanihby,² taking so many trainings, and in addition to daily experience we are now almost feeling like teachers.”

Woman teacher, follow up interview, October 2006

We use the term ‘alternatively qualified’ to highlight the context-specific qualities and abilities that inexperienced and unqualified teachers in crisis and post-crisis contexts do have, especially with regard to child well-being (Kirk and Winthrop, 2007c). Despite the challenges the teachers face in balancing other demands on their time and the difficulties they may have because of their limited training and teaching experience, many

²Walanihby was the first camp—the refugees have subsequently moved to Shimelba.

‘spontaneous’ local teachers have strengths that aid them in their everyday work with children in the classroom.

Elements of this ‘alternative qualification’ identified in IRC research include: gender (and particularly being female); a strong commitment to the community and particularly to children; and an understanding of children and their psychosocial needs, and culturally appropriate strategies to protect and nurture children. These three themes are explored in more detail below.

7.3.2.1 Gender

Gender is a social force that determines educational access and experience for children and youth living in emergencies and post-crisis contexts in very significant ways. Gender is also a powerful factor in shaping teacher opportunities and experience. Especially in culturally conservative communities, for example in Afghanistan, parental preferences are usually for women teachers for their daughters, and so in many rural communities a woman who is committed and has sufficient basic education to be able to teach is already significantly ‘alternatively qualified’. In some locations, girls are able to access education only because local women—who are known and trusted by the community—are willing to run small classes in locations close to their homes. Girls in IRC-supported community-based girls’ classes taught by women teachers explain that this is an important issue for their families; if the class had a male teacher, their parents would not let them attend. The girls in another class explain how they feel about their female teacher: “It is important to have a woman teacher as she is like us and we can ask her the questions in our minds, and we can be very courageous in front of her.”

In a context such as Afghanistan, therefore, gender is a highly significant dimension of being alternatively qualified and should be recognised as such in teacher selection and recruitment policies and strategies. In Ethiopia, although access for girls was not necessarily limited by the lack of women teachers, the community wanted to engage women in the school as role models for girls. Female teachers, they felt, would be more effective in encouraging girls to stay in school and fulfil their educational potential. In IRC-supported refugee programmes in Sierra Leone and Guinea, where the schools are dominated by male teachers, education managers and community members prioritised the recruitment of women into schools as an important protection strategy for girls and a way to address concerns about sexual exploitation and abuse of girls by teachers (Kirk and Winthrop, 2007a).

In understanding gender as a dimension of alternative qualifications, there are two important nuances. First, gender dynamics operate differently in different communities. In some villages in Afghanistan, for example, it is acceptable for girls to be taught by a male from the community who is known and trusted, especially in the case of the mullah-teachers.

The girls also understand that under the circumstances this is acceptable: as one student said, “It would be better to have a woman teacher, but it is all right.” A strategy that assumes that women teachers in schools will be able to ensure a safer and more conducive learning environment for girls depends, for example, on their ability to prioritise girls’ advancement. However, these women teachers may have gender struggles of their own to cope with, including their capacity to challenge complex gender–power dynamics in the school. Therefore, recognition of the relative strength or importance of gender as part of alternative qualification must be based on detailed context analysis.

Second, while gender may operate as a factor in alternative qualification, it may also operate as a factor in teacher tentativeness. One Afghan teacher’s comment that she will teach for ‘as long as I can’ is telling. The community-based school teachers do not receive any incentive from IRC and only very small—if any—payments from the students or the community. The plan is for the government to begin paying teacher salaries, but at the time of the research this was not happening. Their precarious economic situation therefore means that they may not be able to sustain their teaching in the long term. Younger men explain that they are able to teach while they are still living with their parents and not supporting a family, but that eventually they will need to think about income-generating work. In the case of women, husbands and in-laws may become less supportive of their wives’ teaching if it does not contribute to the family finances; women teachers that we interviewed know that they may be forced to give up teaching in the future in order either to focus on income-generating work or to devote more time to household and family activities. One of the women teachers was quite clear about the fact that she could not continue without payment forever: “I need financial support. My father-in-law is also sick. If IRC doesn’t [start to] pay, then I will stop teaching. My health is not good either.” In communities where there are so few alternative women candidates, the tentativeness of the teachers’ tenure threatens the sustainability of access to education for girls.

7.3.2.2 A strong commitment to the community and particularly to children

Because they belong to the same community as their students, teachers often have very intuitive understandings of how to protect and support children in difficult times. They also understand the needs of the students—for example, recognising when lessons need extra explanations—and they reinforce the messages from the children’s parents about the value of education and the importance of studying hard. This quality is an important element in alternative qualifications for teaching in emergency and fragile contexts.

Community-based school teachers in Afghanistan, for example, may have limitations in terms of formal teaching qualification and experience, but they articulate a desire to be close to the students, to understand their problems, and to find ways of addressing any barriers to their learning. Such attitudes towards teaching and learning cannot be taken

for granted in contexts where recent research shows that teachers often commit violence against students—for example, because of presumed ethnic difference (Spink, 2004, cited in Spink, 2005). Committed teachers may not have many different strategies or teaching methodologies at hand, but they are nonetheless concerned to ensure that all the students have equal opportunities to participate and have understood the lesson. The students interviewed also indicated that they would feel very comfortable telling their teacher if they did not understand. This comfort level is not surprising when teachers take the attitude expressed by one of our interviewees, who said she responds this way when students do not understand: “I work with them and I tell them gently and guide and encourage them, then the next day they won’t repeat their mistakes.”

Some of the teachers do have a stick and may use it to hit the children for infractions like forgetting homework, but other teachers understand that fear is antithetical to learning and counterproductive. One of the female teachers explains quite clearly the link between the teacher’s manner and the children’s ability to learn: “The teacher should enter class with a happy face—if a teacher goes to class with a stick, then the children will be very uncomfortable and will not learn.” Another woman says, “In my opinion, a teacher should be kind and should treat their students like their own children. A good teacher should have a happy face and should not be harsh—if they are harsh then the children will be scared and won’t learn. If a child has forgotten something like a textbook or exercise-book then the teacher should tell them to share and coordinate—the teacher should also help.”

One of the teachers is very explicit about the teacher’s role as a confidante and counselor of the students. She says, “A good teacher is very kind, children can trust them with their problems and concerns (and not tell other people), a good teacher is friendly and has good manners—she should be friendly with children.” This women teacher talks at some length about the relationship she has with her female students and the fact that they will very occasionally talk to her about issues they have in the home, and even questions they have about their own bodies, menstruation and so on. She explains that such questions are always couched very discreetly and not asked directly, but with her culturally grounded, equally discreet responses she has apparently has found ways to convey important health and reproductive health information to her adolescent girl students.

It is likely that the teachers’ commitment to building positive relationships with their students is due in part to the fact that they are also members of the students’ community and quite likely even related to them. This creates a very different teaching and learning dynamic from that in government schools, where the teachers are posted from outside the community and often maintain their households elsewhere.

7.3.2.3 An understanding of children and their psychosocial needs

The understandings inexperienced teachers have of children's moral, social, emotional and cognitive development are grounded in their own experiences as members of the local community. Based on contextual, cultural knowledge, the teachers' messages and advice for the students are therefore usually consistent with those of other members of the community and, most importantly, of the children's parents and relatives. The teachers also understand what is expected of them by the community, in terms of their contributions to children's development. Although the perpetuation by teachers of the community status quo (with regard to, for example, expectations of good behaviour, of gender norms, or of the relative insignificance of children in decision-making) may be problematic in the long term for a country in reconstruction, the coherency of messages from the different adults in their lives is particularly important for children living in unstable and uncertain environments.

In Afghanistan teachers articulate their responsibilities for ensuring the well-being of their students and their moral character, or '*tarbia*'. Parents too consider this role as a priority for teachers. The teachers are members of the same community and have an understanding of the local children and of their aspirations and those of their parents. Teachers are highly committed to an expanded role of the teacher beyond that of only a deliverer of specific subject content. They talk about how they transmit important cultural knowledge and use their local knowledge of child development and well-being in their everyday interactions with children. There are four especially important aspects of 'good *tarbia*': good and clean language, respect for elders and parents, bodily cleanliness, and hospitality. Children who have *tarbia* are polite, obedient, respectful, sociable and peaceful. They know how to eat, sit, dress and pray properly. They do not fight unnecessarily, and they do as their parents suggest. In contrast, children with bad *tarbia* ('be *tarbia*' or without *tarbia*) are rude, antisocial and argumentative (Save the Children, 2003). Parents expect the teachers to model good manners and appropriate behaviours, including politeness. The teachers clearly respond to these expectations, and they talk about how important *tarbia* is to their work with the children. Teachers describe regularly giving advice to students about *tarbia* and about generally being good children. The students also describe how their teachers advise them not to fight with each other and to be polite to each other and especially to their elders. The boys should not tease the girls, for example, and all students should take good care of their school clothes and change into home clothes immediately after school, to keep their uniforms, or special school clothes, clean for the following day's lessons.

In Ethiopia, where the refugee camp houses children and families from three Eritrean ethnic groups, refugee teachers talk about the need for very context-specific educational content, such as lessons focused on 'social cohesion'. Environmental protection and the careful use of wood resources is another concern that they have related to the barren landscape in which they are living and the possible tensions with local communities over resource sharing. In the new pre-school, the preservation of the local culture and tradi-

tions is an important part of the teachers' work, with lessons dedicated to Kunama sounds, dances and music. For the Kunama children, the language of instruction is Kunama, although they are at the same time exposed to Tigrigna, the national language of Eritrea.

This is not to negate the importance of learning for these children, nor the role that community-based teachers play in facilitating basic literacy and numeracy. In fact, IRC research highlights the importance of such learning to children and the significance they attribute to teachers to facilitate this (Winthrop and Kirk, 2008). While teacher attributes such as commitment, understanding and sensitivity to well-being are clearly not in themselves enough to ensure quality education for all children, they are nonetheless significant assets to be acknowledged in teacher management, planning and policy development processes. Teachers who understand and try to respond to children's social and emotional needs and aspirations may be able to overcome some of their own limitations, especially in terms of depth of subject knowledge, and may be motivated to further professional development to fill some of those capacity gaps. This motivation—or lack of it—is another significant dimension of teacher experience that IRC Healing Classrooms research has explored. In such difficult contexts, there are clearly alternative motivations that warrant investigation and understanding as a starting point for the development of effective teacher retention and development strategies.

IRC programming that incorporates HCI findings uses a more teacher-centred approach to teacher development. This approach builds on the actual and possible roles that teachers articulated for themselves and on the context-specific strategies that they described using to improve learning. This approach differs significantly from the deficit model of teacher training, which promotes 'good pedagogy' in a way that presumes that the teachers' current pedagogy is 'poor'. For example, at the outset of the new pre-school programme, the teachers were actively involved in the translation and adaptation of the curriculum itself, which was an important way of recognising, validating and integrating their local knowledge and understandings. They worked with 'mentors' to map out priority curriculum topics that they had identified into a contextually grounded programme of learning for their students. This approach has helped to strengthen teacher identity and has strengthened community respect and admiration for the women teachers, who are seen to be doing something very special and important in the community.

7.4 Teacher motivation

We use the term 'motivation' to refer to the factors within and related to a school and education system that support, encourage and stimulate teachers—and that sustain them in the profession, especially in difficult situations. Financial compensation is clearly an important element, but it is not the only motivation for teachers. Healing Classrooms approaches recognise the alternative or additional benefits of being a teacher who is appreciated, has an opportunity to contribute to community development and recovery,

has status in a community, and has opportunities to learn and grow personally and professionally. These factors are not completely different from those that motivate teachers in more stable contexts, but they are particularly significant given the contexts. For example, a woman who has completed only primary education may be motivated by feeling that she is making a contribution. Professional and personal learning and development may be particularly valued by teachers in isolated, resource-poor environments in which there is limited contact with external media, information and resources, such as a refugee or IDP camp. We also recognise that because of their different experiences and different social positions in communities, men and women may have different perspectives and experiences of motivation. In this section of the chapter, we highlight four dimensions of teacher motivation, including financial compensation (which is discussed in more detail in chapter 8 by Brannelly and Ndaruhutse, this volume).

7.4.1 Financial compensation

Financial compensation varies in importance as a motivation factor for teachers in emergency and fragile contexts. In some cases teachers are unpaid; in others, such as the Afghan community-based schools, they received only small amounts of in-kind support from parents. These teachers would not be able to continue their teaching if they relied on this compensation to support their families. In fact, as highlighted earlier, the lack of compensation is a factor in teacher tentativeness. In the refugee context of Ethiopia, however, the situation is different. The teachers do receive a small incentive allowance from IRC, provided by UNHCR as a standard refugee worker payment. Compensation was a focus of discussion in our interviews with pre-school teachers, who are paid the same incentive—about US\$30/month—as the primary school teachers. The relative importance of the incentive varied depending on which of the two different ethnic groups the women were from. Although the amount of pay is small, some of the Kunama teachers indicated that in the refugee context it can make a difference. With the salary, they can contribute to the family income, support family members who are not so fortunate, or just enjoy small luxuries, such as coffee. One teacher explains that even though the incentive is small, “If you spend it properly it is enough and you can share it with others even. We praise God that compared to others . . . there is satisfaction when we compare to others. Here we cannot save—we have to share—but there is satisfaction in that: It would be selfish not to share with others.” Her colleague describes her own particular satisfaction in being able to buy coffee with her salary. She adds that normally the Kunama women have to collect firewood, but she is able to save her energy and pay for firewood to be collected and brought to her by others. The salary is significant for the Kunama women who were not used to earning a professional wage and who supported families that do not receive overseas financial support. For Tigrigna women, the small teacher incentive is typically less significant than the amounts their family may receive in remittances.

Certainly teachers in emergency and fragile contexts have financial needs and concerns and deserve to be adequately compensated for their efforts, and as Brannelly and Ndaruhutse (chapter 8, this volume) assert, international, national and local actors do need to work together to ensure that teachers are regularly paid a decent salary. At the same time, given the additional and/or alternative factors that can also motivate (or demotivate teachers), policy and programming solutions must address both financial and non-financial aspects.

7.4.2 Opportunities to contribute to community development and recovery

Although they have become teachers out of necessity rather than as a long-term profession, the community-based teachers in Afghanistan nonetheless show considerable commitment to their communities. They provide space for school in their homes, hold classes daily and give up time to teach that they could otherwise spend doing chores, labouring or other necessary activities. Teachers' motivations for such commitment are diverse. Some had been refugees in Pakistan and had seen the sorts of educational opportunities available there for Afghan refugees. On returning to their homes, they had then been moved to provide learning opportunities for the children in their village who otherwise had no education. One of the female teachers had returned to her village from Kabul with such a perspective. Another was originally from Kabul herself but had married into the village. Having seen the opportunities available to girls elsewhere, she wanted to make a difference for the girls in her adopted village, who had no possibility of attending school before she started to teach.

Another of the women teachers explains, "The villagers don't have access to education, and it is my responsibility to teach them what I know." One of the teachers was quite adamant that lack of education is the root cause of much of Afghanistan's troubles: "Because of this, and because of all the problems of lack of education, I am ready to teach, even without pay." This commitment to teaching because of the great need in the community is reflected again in the words of another teacher: "IRC came to the community and talked about setting up a school and the community elders asked me and I said I could and I would teach. They said that there was no pay, but I said that I would teach for as long as I could."

Being a teacher in these situations may entail financial and other struggles and may require altruism towards the community, but at the same time teachers can gain considerable satisfaction from their work, and especially from their interaction with children. This satisfaction provides intrinsic motivation to the men and women to continue to teach, and to do so in a way that is in line with the community's expectations. When asked to describe what they like most about teaching, one teacher in Afghanistan writes: "When the students understand the lesson, then I am happy", and his sentiments are echoed

by another teacher, “I like teaching so that the students can understand my lesson.” One woman teacher writes, “Students coming on time, their interest in the lessons and their homework.” Teachers appear to be happy with the makeshift classrooms they have established and say that, yes, the students consider it as a ‘real school’. One of the women says proudly that her students talk about going to school; she tells them she will be there for them until they reach Grade 6, and then she will give them papers to continue to government secondary school.

Above, we discussed the ways in which students benefit from their teachers’ ability to understand and support their psychosocial needs, but the data also suggest that the teachers themselves derive a certain amount of social and emotional benefit from their work. This emerges as a particularly strong factor for the women teachers in Afghanistan. They say that instead of being alone, surrounded by their own problems and constantly reliving the trauma and loss of the conflict, the opportunity to teach gives them something else to think about. One woman teacher states, for example, “School helps me forget my problems and sorrows—before I was teaching I was very sad all the time. I enjoy being with the children and it helps me forget my pain. They learn from me and I learn from them too.” Afghan women have very limited opportunities to receive psychosocial support, particularly in rural areas; being able to contribute to one’s community, knowing that one is doing one’s best, and contributing to the future should therefore be recognised as motivating factors to be a teacher. It may be harder for women to be active in the public realm than for men, especially in rural Afghanistan, but teaching can be a culturally acceptable way to do so.

7.4.3 Gaining status in a community

Teachers in Afghanistan also articulate a sense of satisfaction and appreciation of their status as teachers in their communities. Despite the lack of financial compensation, almost all of the teachers in community-based schools in Afghanistan said that they feel they are respected in their communities for their work. They talk about being called ‘*ustod*’—a respectful title for a teacher—and describe how some of the communities do understand that they are working for no pay and so particularly appreciate what they do. One teacher describes how the students’ parents meet and greet him at the mosque and say they are praying for the teachers because of their gratitude that their children are able to go to school. Another woman describes how, during parties and ceremonies in the village, she will be brought a mattress to sit on while everyone else is sitting on the floor then. Everyone—young and old—refers to her as ‘*ustod*’ too. Another woman teacher says that at a recent wedding party that she did not attend, her sister was continually asked where the teacher was and why she was not present. Another woman who has been teaching since the Taliban times recalls that when she first opened a class for girls there, she received letters threatening to burn their home, but now it is quite the opposite. When she is outside

the house, for example, she will find that the parents of her students will do little things to show their appreciation, such as pay her taxi fare.

From these conversations, the gender dimensions and social relations of being a teacher—and of being respected for being one—are also clear. The male teachers are mostly teaching in mosques, and as such have quite a different experience: They go out and about in the village, teach in a public space, are visible, and have the opportunity for more interaction with mullahs and with other men coming to pray. Women teachers, teaching within their own family compounds, have far fewer opportunities for such interaction. The male teachers hear the prayers for the teachers recited in the mosque, whereas the women do not worship publicly and are denied this external gratification first-hand. Yet because of these limited opportunities for women to be active in the public realm, the status and respect in a community gained as a teacher is particularly significant. In the male-dominated communities, women rarely hold important positions, and so it is quite unusual for a young woman to be able to confidently say, “The community is very happy that I am teaching and whenever they see me they give me respect and say how much I know.” Another young woman of only 18 who is teaching a class in the afternoons in her home while attending secondary school in the mornings says, “I’m proud to be a teacher, for myself, and also in the village—they know I teach without pay and I get respect for it.” As an outsider who married into the village, she has found that becoming a teacher has been a way of settling into the village and gaining the trust and respect of the local people.

Within the Kunama community in the refugee camp in Ethiopia, the pre-school teachers clearly enjoy a certain status. One of the teachers says, “The women at home who have no education give us much respect because they have a good understanding of us in professional jobs.” An example of this is the illiterate community members who approach the teachers whenever they want to send a letter—“and they always bless us and thank us so much for the help”. For the Kunama community especially, a pre-school is a very new phenomenon. Another teacher admits that previously she did not have much experience and knowledge, but says that now even the parents of the students who live in her environment respect her because they know she is teaching the children. Few Kunama had previously seen pre-schools, and the women pioneers of these new activities and programmes—which take place in a new and quite magical, child-sized environment—clearly have a special status.

7.4.4 Opportunities to develop personally and professionally

Another important theme in teachers’ testimonies about teaching is the satisfaction that teachers have in knowing that they are learning and developing new skills. Most teachers appreciate and are motivated by professional development opportunities, which include formal training and workshops, as well as non-formal opportunities such as access to

libraries and professional exchange with other teachers. In this respect, such teachers are similar to their counterparts in non-emergency contexts. And yet the extent to which these opportunities act as a motivating factor for them can only be understood in relation to the circumstances in which the teachers live—in particular, the limited opportunities that exist for their other non-teaching peers to advance themselves. In refugee camps and communities in reconstruction, teachers have limited access to information, to training opportunities, and to opportunities to work with like-minded others in developing new approaches and constructing teaching and learning aids. Even if the teachers are ‘tentative’ and may not stay in the profession for long, they consider such skills development as relevant for other possible personal and professional contexts.

Refugee women teachers in Ethiopia first interviewed in 2004 were interviewed again in 2006, providing an opportunity for them to look back on their professional development over the last 5 years. Improvements in the quality of the physical learning environment for young children (with the construction of a purpose-built pre-school) had been coupled with specific efforts to strengthen teacher identity and to help the teachers feel more like ‘real’ teachers and therefore more certain about a longer term commitment to teaching. They were even starting to think about the possibilities of formal teacher education and teacher certification: “Experience is better than a certificate but the document is important to have something with us—we need this.”

7.5 Teacher well-being

We use the term ‘well-being’ to refer to the factors outside of the school environment that support the physical, social and emotional well-being of teachers. These factors include family concerns such as housing, health and ensuring access to education for their own children, and security and hope for the future. Space does not allow for an in-depth consideration of such factors, but they are intimately linked with teacher identity and motivation. Well-being factors also contribute in different ways to the quality of their instruction. A teacher who is safe and secure in the community and feels comfortable in her or his accommodation, for example, is able to focus on lesson planning and preparation. Conversely, a teacher who is struggling to ensure family survival and having to manage multiple income-generating activities each day is unlikely to be able to experience satisfaction from teaching and from day-to-day interaction with students. Refugee teachers in Sierra Leone and Guinea, for example, expressed their resentment of authorities, who they see as expecting them to work for pitiful salaries and in inhospitable living conditions; this counteracts other more motivating factors they may experience.

IRC Healing Classrooms research and programming highlight how, when working in emergency and fragility-affected communities, teachers find their own basic needs at risk. Even if they enjoy status in their community, teachers and their families may be highly vulnerable. This may be especially the case for women, who are concerned about

the threats to their personal safety and security and especially the risk of gender-based violence. Meeting these vulnerable teachers' basic needs—social and emotional as well as security and economic—should be considered a strategy for improving the accessibility and the quality of education.

7.6 Implications for teacher management, support and development in emergencies, in post-emergencies and in contexts of fragility

Lessons learned from IRC's work indicate that there is much to be gained in terms of educational quality from listening to teachers' voices and from creating teacher support and development materials and activities based on who the teachers really are and on what their different strengths and weaknesses might be. A better understanding of how teachers construct their practice and professional identities, of the different forces and factors that motivate and demotivate them, and of the challenges that affect their basic well-being can help in designing more effective organisational support systems.

Conceptual insights gained from initial action-research interventions—namely, notions such as 'tentative', 'spontaneous' and 'alternatively qualified' teachers—demand that policymakers, education managers, teacher trainers and curriculum developers consider more carefully who teachers are and what motivates them. Education authorities and policymakers that give in-depth consideration to teachers' well-being and especially the priority needs for both men and women teachers may more seriously consider holistic approaches to teacher management, support and supervision. Multi-sector interventions may be required—for example, between health and education, education and security sectors, and even education and legal support services, if land rights are an issue affecting teachers' well-being. At the community level, understanding teacher identity, motivation and well-being should serve as starting points for conversations and action planning aimed at improving education. Holistic strategies are likely to emerge at the community level as well—for example, Parent-Teacher Associations may identify a range of assets (e.g. land, housing, food, assisting teachers with daily chores) in addition to paying school fees to support, sustain and encourage teachers.

7.6.1 Global policy and programming in education in emergencies

IRC's work on teacher management, support and development takes place within a context of increased global attention to education for children whose lives are affected by natural and man-made emergencies and longer term instability. The Dakar World Education Forum in 2000 brought attention to the need to support these education systems (Kagawa, 2005) as a critical Education For All (EFA) strategy, and the Inter-Agency Network

for Education in Emergencies (INEE) was subsequently established to address education in these complex contexts. Its mobilisation and coordination of United Nations (UN), non-governmental organisations (NGOs), governments and other members has helped to raise the awareness of the importance of education in emergency and post-emergency contexts and to increase coordination between different actors (see www.ineesite.org). The *INEE Minimum Standards for Education in Emergencies, Chronic Crises and Early Reconstruction* (INEE, 2004), developed through a consultative process involving over 2,000 educators, education experts, officials and affected populations around the world, synthesise and articulate good practice and lessons learned. These standards devote much attention to teachers and other education personnel. One category of standards provides guidance on the selection, recruitment, compensation, support and supervision of teachers; teacher training and professional development is included in the category of standards on teaching and learning. The standards provide a framework for quality education in the most difficult circumstances, which is oriented to protection and peacebuilding. With regard to teachers, they provide a framework in which to develop context-specific, responsive systems for comprehensive management and support for teachers in emergency and fragile contexts. Gender equality is a cross-cutting principle, but is especially relevant to the standards applying to teacher recruitment, training and support. IRC's Healing Classrooms approach has evolved as a means of supporting the development of context-specific programme interventions that fulfil the Minimum Standards. Recommendations provided below, which have evolved from IRC's Healing Classrooms Initiative, are aligned with the principles of the *INEE Minimum Standards* and with related policy and programming guidance, such as the Fast Track Initiative *Progressive Framework* (Fast Track Initiative, 2008); *INEE Guidance Notes on Teacher Compensation* (INEE, 2009); the Education and Fragility Assessment Tool of the United States Agency for International Development (USAID, 2006); and the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization and the International Institute for Educational Planning (UNESCO-IIEP) *Guidebook on Education Planning in Emergencies and Reconstruction* (2010).

7.7 Specific recommendations

As indicated in the introduction to this chapter, teachers working in emergency-affected and fragile contexts have so far received little attention from researchers. In the longer term, further research is clearly needed in order to further strengthen and develop conceptual tools that apply in these contexts. In the meantime, there is a need for strategies to support positive identity, motivation and well-being for both male and female teachers, applicable at multiple levels of education and at different scales (e.g. small-scale NGO/CBO-supported programmes, district-level planning for education authorities, national teacher policy framework development). Most importantly, these strategies should support smooth transitions from emergency measures to longer term, sustainable policies and programmes aimed at development targets. Recommendations for effective teacher

policy and programming in teacher management and support are organised in two complementary sections—teacher supply and teacher quality.

7.7.1 Ensuring an adequate, sustainable supply of teachers

- Develop teacher selection criteria that make explicit ‘alternative qualifications’ such as interest in working with children, commitment to the community, and willingness to work with children outside of school hours.
- Ensure adequate compensation (monetary and/or in kind) for teachers, on a pay scale that can evolve as teachers develop skills, as communities gain trust, and government resources allow for teacher pay reform.
- Encourage teacher-to-teacher support groups, self-care networks and relationships to support them in managing stress, insecurity, uncertainty and inevitable frustrations of teaching in difficult and resource-poor contexts; ensure teachers are also linked to other professional groups in the community, such as health care workers.
- As soon as possible, establish a comprehensive programme of teacher development based on participatory assessment of teacher strengths and weaknesses, through which teachers can track their own professional growth and see ahead to future opportunities in the profession.

7.7.2 Ensuring better teachers

- Where relevant and appropriate, provide single-sex training and professional development opportunities, both to provide equitable access for women in conservative contexts and to be able to address openly and effectively gender-specific concerns, priorities and needs of teachers.
- Provide teachers with training, resources and tools to support them in collaborating and working in partnership with parents and community members for quality education.

8

Ensuring adequate and sustainable teacher compensation in situations of fragility

Laura Brannelly and Susy Ndaruhutse

8.1 Introduction and context

8.1.1 The critical place of teachers and teacher compensation

The world faces a shortfall of 18 million teachers in the coming decade (UNESCO, 2007a) with some fragile states facing the deepest challenges. Teachers play a critical role in ensuring that children receive a quality education. In situations of fragility, they enable children to continue learning when life is disrupted by conflict, instability, humanitarian crises, or weakening state capacity or will to provide education services. They also have the potential to provide life-saving information and a sense of reassurance and normalcy for both children and the wider community. The fulfilment of this potential depends largely on adequate systems of support, development and motivation for teachers.

Thus strategies for increasing the teacher¹ workforce in fragile situations, accompanied by adequate and sustainable measures to pay them and ensure an appropriate quality of education, will be a direct contribution to the attainment of the EFA goals. Yet this is not an easy task, as Sommers (2004, p. 74) has stressed: “Among the most vexing and widespread operational challenges in field co-ordination for education during emergencies is devising an appropriate and affordable payment structure for teachers.”

¹In this chapter and in many fragile contexts, the word ‘teacher’ can mean many different things. The professional status of a teacher may range from non-professionalised or voluntary teachers, to a community-based teacher with a low level of education, to a fully qualified teacher. Teachers can be distinguished by their position or level (ranging from pre-school or classroom assistant, primary or secondary school teacher, subject specialist, technical or vocational trainer, religious educator or life skills instructor, to lecturer or professor in the tertiary sector) and the system in which they work (formal or non-formal; government or non-government). Many states have definitions, norms and ways in which they categorise teachers which should be taken into account when deciding in a given context who is included in the definition of a teacher.

8.1.2 Objective of chapter

This chapter aims to outline general principles for teacher compensation initiatives in situations of fragility.² The principles are not intended to provide a framework for the reform of the teacher compensation system (if it exists) or to negotiate a national teacher compensation policy or strategy; this would involve a wider range of stakeholders and much greater and longer term negotiation than is envisaged here. Rather, the objective is to provide principles in setting and adapting interim teacher compensation arrangements in ways that aid the establishment and institutionalisation of good practice and avoid the creation of unsustainable practices which have the potential to cause more harm than good.

The principles outlined in this chapter are based on work undertaken by the authors on behalf of the Inter-Agency Network on Education in Emergencies (INEE) and partner agencies (UNICEF, UNESCO, UNHCR, IRC, Save the Children and the Women's Commission for Refugee Women and Children) to produce *Guidance Notes on Teacher Compensation in Fragile States, Situations of Displacement and Post-Crisis Recovery* (see www.ineesite.org/en/teacher-compensation-initiative). This process involved broad consultation with individuals and organisations working to support teachers in situations of fragility. Many of the examples cited in this chapter have been contributed through these consultations and from INEE members.

8.1.3 Roles and responsibilities of stakeholders in teacher compensation

In situations of fragility, there may not be a legitimate government, or the state may lack the control, capacity, resources or will to ensure the provision of education services. As a result, communities, civil society organisations, local and international non-governmental organisations (NGOs) or donors may be constrained in how effectively they can work with education authorities and by default end up assuming the role of employer of teachers. This means they have to put in place mechanisms for compensation. These approaches are often developed as a rapid, creative response in order to fill an urgent service delivery need ensuring children's rights to education are met with minimum disruption. However, while they can set precedents that embed values such as equity, community participation and realistic, sustainable compensation, 'emergency' teacher compensation arrangements

²These situations include the four Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) Development Assistance Committee (DAC) categories (deteriorating; arrested development; post-conflict transition; early recovery) where a state is unable and/or unwilling to provide basic services for its population. They also include countries that are hosting refugees from neighbouring states; countries that are stable in general but have experienced a major natural disaster that has affected the education system and require temporary assistance in relation to teacher compensation; and those that are generally considered stable (e.g. Uganda) but where pockets of instability exist in certain regions (parts of northern Uganda).

can also be very inequitable, unsustainable and sometimes even exploitative of teachers and/or communities. This situation may then further exacerbate conflict, instability and insecurity.

Understanding the local context of fragility is thus relevant to the type of approach taken in relation to teacher compensation and the funding modality used. Table 8.1 outlines the different funding modalities that are most likely to be appropriate in different contexts of fragility and how they relate to teacher compensation.

There is a range of stakeholders involved in teacher compensation in situations of fragility including education authorities, donors, United Nations (UN) agencies and NGOs, the latter incorporating faith-based organisations, community-based organisations and the private sector.

Table 8.1
DAC categories and most likely appropriate donor funding mechanisms currently

DAC category	Most likely appropriate donor funding modality currently	Disbursement channel	Links between funding modality and teacher remuneration
1. Deteriorating	Project support; humanitarian aid.	Through donors, NGOs or United Nations (UN) agencies.	Unlikely to be long-term or to include substantial component to cover teachers' salaries; but could cover cash or in-kind remuneration of teacher groups funded through NGOs or UN if state support to teachers has collapsed.
2. Arrested development	Project support; humanitarian aid.	Through NGOs or UN agencies.	As above.
3. Post-conflict reconstruction	Mixture of projects, trust funds, budget support and pooled funding.	Through UN agencies, Multi-Donor Trust Funds (MDTFs) managed by UN or World Bank, donor-managed pooled funding or individual projects.	If budget support, pooled funding or MDTF, then potential to cover teachers' salaries through recurrent funding window.
4. Early recovery	Budget support and pooled funding.	Through pooled funding or direct budget support managed by recipient government.	Strong potential to cover teachers' salaries through recurrent funding.

Responsibility for ensuring the right to education ultimately lies with the government, even though governments will not necessarily be the major or sole provider of education services and other stakeholders may well play a significant role in service delivery. This requires a policy framework, strategy, regulation, monitoring and evaluation of standards, and ensuring adequate resources are available in a coordinated manner to provide education services in an equitable way to all children without discrimination. Teacher compensation is a part of this.

Thus wherever possible, all stakeholders should develop their interventions within government priorities and systems. If national authorities lack capacity and/or will, 'partial alignment' can take place, where stakeholders unilaterally attempt to align with government education systems. Where this is not possible, stakeholders should try to work closely with communities within 'shadow aligned' systems and to operate as much as possible in liaison with existing government structures and approaches. This approach can support the longer term objective of the assumption by the state of its responsibilities in relation to teacher compensation without significant disruption to service delivery or the need to develop a totally separate system (ODI, 2004).

Table 8.2 outlines the different roles and responsibilities generally assumed by key stakeholder groups in relation to teacher compensation. Depending on the specific context of

Table 8.2
Possible roles and responsibilities of stakeholders

Stakeholders	Roles and responsibilities
Government	Ensuring monetary compensation Policy guidance and coordination Recognition of qualifications and schools Training, support and supervision
Donors	Funding to government (budget support, trust funds, etc.) Programme support to NGOs Advocacy Input to policy dialogue
NGOs/UN agencies	In kind/cash compensation ("incentives"/stipends) Grants to communities for teacher compensation Training, support and supervision Advocacy
Communities	In-kind/cash compensation channelled via community or school management committees (SMCs) Support and supervision of teachers Advocacy
Teacher unions	Advocacy Input into policy dialogue Professional support

fragility and the levels of capacity and will of the state, the balance of these roles will vary, as will the weighting of responsibilities between stakeholders; not all stakeholders adopt all of these roles at a given point in time. For example, in refugee camps, both the host government and the home government may be unwilling or unable to engage in teacher compensation issues, resulting in NGOs or UN agencies taking on a leadership role.

It is assumed that teachers also have a responsibility towards these stakeholders who are compensating them in adhering to codes of conduct and delivering effective services to the ultimate beneficiaries—children.

8.1.4 The importance of adequate and sustainable teacher compensation in situations of fragility

The *INEE Minimum Standards for Education: Preparedness, Response, Recovery—A Commitment to Access, Quality and Accountability* (2010) is a foundational document for the establishment of guidelines for teacher compensation in situations of fragility.³ These Minimum Standards were developed by INEE through a highly consultative process (with the participation of 1,900 individuals from 47 countries) as a tool to “articulate a minimum level of educational access and quality in emergencies and the early reconstruction phase” (www.ineesite.org/en/minimum-standards/history).

The second standard for ‘Teachers and other education personnel’ states that teachers should be “appropriately compensated” and stresses that this compensation should be provided regularly and be sufficient to meet teachers’ basic needs without them having to seek additional sources of income. It recognises that education authorities have the principal responsibility for ensuring that teachers are compensated, but that this requires coordination among all stakeholders to lay a “foundation for sustainable compensation policy and practice” and to support the transition towards recovery and development (INEE, 2010, p. 99).

To ensure sustainable teacher compensation, it is critical that from the outset of any intervention, coordinated and harmonised policies and procedures are put in place that can be adopted and used as far as possible by all stakeholders. This should support the transition from emergency and crisis through different stages of fragility, and help to ensure that the state resumes greater responsibility for the payment of teachers.

³The Guidelines were developed based on the 2004 version of the *INEE Minimum Standards*, but references in this chapter to the Minimum Standards have been updated to relate to the more recent 2010 edition.

8.1.5 What is meant by adequate and sustainable compensation?

Compensation is often assumed to be monetary compensation or salaries, ignoring non-monetary compensation. However, while not denying the importance of cash income for teachers, compensation in its wider sense should incorporate both monetary and non-monetary aspects, with the latter including a broad range of in-kind payments (such as food, shelter and medical care) as well as other types of support such as professional development, training and the provision of teaching and learning materials. In situations of fragility, where stakeholders are sometimes unable or unwilling to pay a market salary (and even when they are, this may still be below the real cost of living), non-monetary compensation is often necessary to substitute or supplement wages and acts as an incentive to motivate teachers to remain within the profession. It can also help motivate volunteer and/or non-professionalised teachers to join the profession.

An established system for teacher compensation, which includes both monetary and non-monetary components, not only increases teacher motivation but also helps to stabilise the education system, resulting in increased professionalism and accountability. In addition, it has the potential to reduce teacher absenteeism and high turnover rates, protecting the investment made in teacher training and ultimately increasing the quality and availability of education for children (e.g. Bennell and Akyeampong, 2007; Bennell, 2004; Education International, 2007).

Across the world, including in situations of fragility, levels of teacher compensation are shaped to a large extent by market forces. While market forces may not be fully functioning in refugee contexts, there is often still a level of 'refugee camp' market forces at play whereby if other employment opportunities at a higher wage exist, teachers will be tempted to take them over educational posts. The level and type of compensation offered to teachers is influenced by the cost of living, the demand for and supply of teachers and other professionals, and wage levels in comparable professions such as healthcare. Hence, for teacher compensation to be adequate and sustainable, local market forces must be borne in mind. This is particularly the case in situations of displacement (of refugees across borders or internally displaced persons, IDPs) where there is greater mobility among teachers and they are able to move across borders or out of their country of origin in response to market forces and the possibility of higher wages.

8.1.6 Legal frameworks and international commitments

A range of important legal frameworks and international commitments support the development of principles for good practice on adequate and sustainable teacher compensa-

Table 8.3

Implications of DAC principles for good engagement in fragile states and situations for teacher compensation initiatives

DAC principles	Implications for teacher compensation
Take context as the starting point	Use labour market conditions, pay scales in competing sectors, basic information,, and data on the target population for schooling and teaching force, etc. to guide decision-making.
Do no harm	Ensure sustainability and non-discrimination and that, if local systems have to be by-passed, this causes least disempowerment of the state.
Focus on state-building as the central objective	Integrate capacity building of the state—education authorities and non-state actors (NSAs)—rather than just ensuring efficient payment of salaries through a parallel system.
Prioritise prevention	Address any root causes of fragility that might be directly or indirectly related to teacher compensation issues.
Recognise the links between political, security and development objectives	Recognise teacher compensation initiatives as related to wider compensation issues across other sectors of the economy and civil service.
Promote non-discrimination	Promote human rights, equal opportunities (especially for women), and social inclusion in teacher compensation.
Align with local priorities	Avoid building parallel systems that are unlikely to be transferable to education authorities in the medium to long-term.
Agree on practical coordination mechanisms between international actors	Ensure coordination between different stakeholders and harmonise broad pay scales.
Act fast . . . but stay engaged long enough to give success a chance	Ensure rapid but strategic compensation interventions that are sustainable for the education authorities in the longer-term.
Avoid pockets of exclusion.	Ensure harmonised approaches across different regions and all groups of teachers

tion in situations of fragility.⁴ Table 8.3 highlights the relationships between the 2007 DAC principles for engagement in fragile states and teacher compensation.

⁴DAC Principles for Good International Engagement in Fragile States and Situations (2007); EFA-FTI Progressive Framework (Fast Track Initiative, 2008); INEE Good Practice Guide on the Compensation and Payment of Educational Staff (2006); UNICEF Resource Tool Kit for Education in Emergencies (2006); Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness (2005); INEE Minimum Standards for Education: Preparedness, Response, Recovery—A Commitment to Access, Quality and Accountability (2010); Section 3.2 on Teacher Motivation, Compensation and Working Conditions, in UNESCO-IIEP Guidebook for Planning Education in Emergencies and Reconstruction (2010); UNESCO Guidelines for Education in Situations of Emergency and Crisis (2002); UNHCR Education Field Guidelines (2003); UN Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security (2000); UNESCO/ILO Recommendations Concerning the Status of Teachers (1996 and 1966); Beijing Platform for Action (1995); and the UN Convention on the Elimination of All Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) (1979); UN Convention on Refugees (1951).

From the above frameworks and commitments, three broad themes frame the INEE Guidance Notes on Teacher Compensation in Fragile States, Situations of Displacement and Post-crisis Recovery, and are used to organise this chapter:

1. Policy and coordination of teacher compensation;
2. The management and financial aspects of teacher compensation;
3. Teacher motivation, support and supervision as forms of non-monetary teacher compensation.

8.2 Principles for adequate and sustainable teacher compensation in situations of fragility

8.2.1 Policy and coordination of teacher compensation

8.2.1.1 *Understanding context*

In the desire for rapid response and quick impact, there can be a temptation for agencies to use a model that has worked elsewhere without taking enough time to consider the local context in which they will be working to see how a given model may need cultural and contextual adaptation to ensure it is appropriate for the current context.

A UNICEF education programme in Maira Camp in the North-West Frontier Province of Pakistan, established in response to internal displacement after the October 2005 earthquake, exemplifies the importance of agencies understanding the local context. In this part of Pakistan, it is not culturally acceptable to the community for girls to attend schools, unless their teacher is female, even at primary level, and co-education is also prohibited. In order to attract women teachers from the surrounding area, a number of incentives were offered including a higher salary than that of locally recruited male teachers. While in this context the initiative was successful in increasing girls' enrolment, in policy development processes such an approach has to be balanced with the possible negative repercussions of implementing a pay scale based on positive discrimination (Delaney, 2008).

A contrasting example outlining the need to undertake basic data collection to obtain a better understanding of the local context before planning any intervention comes from what is now South Sudan. In 2006, when the Government of Southern Sudan took over responsibility for teachers' salaries, there were no structures for the efficient implementation of a salary scheme. When the government eventually released funds to state authorities for teachers' salaries, it was without clear statistics and salary scales for teachers. Some state authorities had the funds diverted to other projects or misappropriated altogether, leaving teachers unpaid for several months. In a number of states, students went on strike, destroying Ministry of Education, Science and Technology (MoEST) property and demanding that their teachers be paid. These irregularities have continued to plague the

teachers' compensation process in the country, leaving most teachers crying foul for not being paid regularly or for being underpaid or both. Due to the lack of accurate teachers' statistics and low capacity in government offices, it was difficult to determine what level of funds should be set aside for teachers in any given state. An important lesson learnt is that capacity building for ministries of education in situations of fragility is critical for an efficient and satisfactory teachers' compensation scheme (Ombaka, 2008b).

This case study underlines the importance of collecting appropriate and reliable baseline data and information in order to create an informed policy on teacher compensation. Important information to collect includes pre-crisis and current salaries for teachers and those in other comparable professions; data on cash and in-kind compensation made by different stakeholders and the distribution systems used for these various forms of compensation; basic data on teacher and student numbers and qualifications of teachers broken down by context (such as rural and urban); and any policies on teacher compensation, teacher protection, teacher roles and responsibilities. In addition, in the case of refugees who are spread across several countries, it may be important to take into account regional data.

Principle 1 The importance of assessing the local context before taking action and using this as the reference point when determining funding modalities and appropriate salary scales (OECD, 2007, Principle 1; IIEP 2010).

8.2.1.2 Coordination between stakeholders

Building on the first principle of understanding the local context and collecting baseline information, all stakeholders, including the education authorities, need to work together to develop a coordinated policy for teacher compensation and to help smooth the transition towards development and/or reconstruction. This is critical given that in situations of fragility there are often multiple stakeholders involved in teacher compensation.

In refugee camps in Guinea, limited coordination between education providers resulted in competition between agencies for the recruitment of the best people and undermined any coordinated payment system for refugees; it artificially inflated refugee wages and pushed up stipends (Sommers, 2004). Similarly a World Education programme paying stipends to support teachers working with Burmese refugees in seven refugee camps on the Thailand–Burma border in 2000 discovered that the five NGOs involved across nine different refugee camps were paying different stipends and there was no agreement at the outset on a common pay scale (Ligon, 2008). Coordinating stakeholders is clearly important to avoid the creation of multiple systems and approaches which can create rivalry, decrease impact and reduce the likelihood of sustainability. Where stake-

holders do openly share information, this encourages all actors to coordinate an equitable approach to teacher compensation rather than different agencies competing for teachers due to more favourable levels of payment. The principles of transparency and equity are thus of utmost importance in ensuring harmonisation and coordination.

A more positive example is drawn from a Save the Children education programme in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) operating during 2005. Despite the lack of capacity of the Ministry of Education (MoE) to pay teachers across the country, Save the Children signed agreements with the MoE and sought approval by the MoE at district and provincial levels for their intervention in establishing an Accelerated Learning Programme (ALP) which included the payment of teachers. The community was also fully involved in planning and mobilisation meetings. Save the Children also collaborated with other agencies involved in education including Sida, UNICEF, UNESCO and the Norwegian Refugee Council (NRC). The NRC and the MoE provided experts for training teachers and technical advice in organising training for ALP teachers (Ombaka, 2008a). All of this increased the effectiveness of the programme.

While it can be assumed that different agencies and education authorities will voluntarily coordinate around a common policy or framework, coordination will be most effective if the government is able to monitor and enforce compliance by all stakeholders and if there are clear consequences of non-compliance. During 1995 when there were large numbers of Rwandan refugees in Tanzania, UNHCR determined the refugee teacher allowance to avoid breaking the government policy regarding refugee compensation. All other actors then implemented what was agreed and reported to UNHCR (Nestory, 2007). It is not clear what the consequences of non-compliance were under this arrangement, but it appears that it was not an issue.

Principle 2 Coordination of all stakeholders involved in the provision of education (INEE, 2010, pp. 31–34; UNESCO/ILO, 1966, p. 31, para 10k; OECD, 2007, Principle 8; Fast Track Initiative, 2008; Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness, 2005, Indicators 4, 9 and 10; UNHCR, 2003, section 2.3.1; UNICEF, 2006, pp. 6–7 and section 3.2; Bensalah, 2002, p. 34).

8.2.1.3 Government systems and long-term sustainability

Given government roles and responsibilities in coordinating policy and strategy on teacher compensation, even if non-state actors (NSAs) are involved, it is important that policies, procedures and systems adopted are sustainable for the government to coordinate, manage and finance in the longer term.

Where the government's capacity and/or will to coordinate teacher compensation issues may be weak, there may be a lead agency assisting the government and/or acting as *de facto* coordinator or Cluster leader as an interim measure.⁵ This should be done in a way that seeks to strengthen state capacity at local and national levels in preparation for their gradual resumption of this role.

To ensure sustainability, Smith (2008) describes how the district education office worked with USAID and an NGO implementing partner for teacher compensation. In order to build the capacity of the district education offices and to ensure that efficient funds were allocated in their education budgets, a phased approach was adopted. In a Memorandum of Understanding signed between the district education office and the International Rescue Committee (IRC), it was agreed that after the first year, the district regional education office would be covering 25% of the teachers' compensation, 50% after the second year, 75% after the third year and 100% after the fourth year. However, it was not easy for many education offices to achieve this level of contribution within the planned four years. The main challenge faced was that when the local education office took over the payment of teachers' salaries, payments often became irregular and unpredictable. Maintaining a regular policy dialogue and follow-up to secure the timely payment has been one way the IRC tried to overcome this challenge (Smith, 2008).

A similar approach was followed by the Partnership for Advancing Community Education in Afghanistan (PACE-A) (Stannard, 2008). Community-based classes started with the support of the PACE-A programme were gradually integrated into the formal MoE system. This was done at provincial level and according to the capacity and funds of the MoE. Sometimes a class was 'partially handed over' to the MoE which committed the MoE to providing the teacher's salary while the NGO continued to provide training and materials (in early 2008, approximately 35% of the classes were 'partially handed over'). In August 2006, the MoE released Draft Policy Guidelines for Community-based Education in Afghanistan. PACE-A worked with the MoE to then devise a step-by-step process for NGO partners to follow with district education authorities in order to complete the official registration of each community-based teacher. The completed information, accompanying letters from the Provincial MoE Directors, and summary data were submitted to the Department of Planning in February 2008, as the MoE was finalising its annual budget. This aimed to put approximately 950 of the 1,315 community-based teachers on to the MoE payroll

⁵The UN Cluster system was introduced in 2005 to improve the predictability, timeliness and effectiveness of response to humanitarian crises but did not originally include the education sector. However, in 2007 the Inter-Agency Standing Committee of the UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs endorsed the creation of an Education Cluster that will be co-led by UNICEF and the Save the Children Alliance. The Cluster aims to increase and fully legitimise the role education can play in an emergency response, ensure a coordinated response and attract adequate funding.

Principle 3 Coordination with government structures and what existed before the crisis (OECD, 2007, Principle 3; Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness, 2005, Article 21).

8.2.1.4 Coordination of pay scales

Where several agencies are involved in similar interventions, teacher compensation (cash or in-kind) should be harmonised so that one stakeholder's terms and conditions are not significantly more generous than another's. This is especially important given that not all stakeholders are able or willing to pay salaries directly and, instead, may look at ways of providing in-kind payments or encouraging community involvement and contributions. Harmonisation includes stakeholder agreement on which locations and types of teachers should receive enhanced 'hardship' allowances. Jansveld and Reiss (2008) describe how in Bukavu, DRC, the teachers working with local NGOs supported by War Child Holland were paid incentives of between US\$10 and US\$25 per month, whereas teachers in most primary schools received between US\$30 and US\$50 per month. Thus, when an opening arose in a formal school, NGO teachers would take the opportunity of the higher paid position. This underlines the importance of coordinating pay scales across different stakeholder initiatives on teacher compensation, to avoid rapid turnover of staff.

Experiences from Afghanistan and from Ethiopia provide insights into how such arrangements can work. Within the education sector in Afghanistan, between 2002 and 2005, enrolments more than doubled, resulting in the need for a considerable number of additional teachers (DANIDA, 2005). The majority of these teachers were paid for through the Afghanistan Reconstruction Trust Fund (ARTF) Recurrent Window, where 24 donors were pooling their funding into one centrally managed fund to cover salaries and other recurrent, regular expenditure across all sectors excluding security. Salary payments were made around one common pay scale and while salaries remained low (around US\$45 per month in 2002 rising to US\$50 in 2006 with scheduled increases beyond this) payments became much more regular due to the ARTF (Foster, 2007; Scanteam, 2005; Scanteam, 2007).

During 2005, a group of donors developed the Protection of Basic Services (PBS) grant for Ethiopia to support basic services across the country (including primary and secondary education) by increasing the overall volume of block transfers to regional and *woreda* (district) levels. The PBS was earmarked budget support covering recurrent and development costs totalling US\$822.4 million over a two-year period. It comprised four components, of which Component 1 (the largest one) was for supporting basic service delivery (mainly salaries) in education, health, water and sanitation, and agricultural support services. This was implemented using Ethiopia's existing decentralised public financial management

system. There were no evaluation results available at the time of writing but if future reviews do show that it has had a positive impact and ensured constant service delivery, then this type of intervention may well be appropriate to use in decentralised or federalised fragile states in the early recovery or deteriorating categories to ensure teachers are paid (African Development Fund, 2006; World Bank, 2006b).

Principle 4 Coordination of pay scales (INEE, 2010, p. 32; IIEP, 2010, pp. 39–40).

8.2.2 The management and financial aspects of teacher compensation

8.2.2.1 Establishing equitable interim pay scales

Stakeholders need to recognise that teachers' salaries exist within a broader labour market. Therefore, teachers' salaries should correspond to pay scales for similar work, such as the health sector and some UN/NGO work. To retain teachers within the profession, salaries should remain competitive. Ideally this should mean that the base wage level is not set below that of unskilled workers to prevent teachers leaving the profession to seek additional income.

Balancing the two conflicting demands for sustainability and competitiveness is challenging. Approaches to mediate these demands vary according to context, and should be based upon baseline information and data on local market conditions and the government framework (Principle 1). Where possible a participatory approach involving all stakeholders, including teachers' unions, should be used to identify an appropriate pay-scale system (see Principle 5 below). In situations of prolonged displacement and fragility, approaches taken and the pay scales established should be regularly reviewed and, if necessary, adjusted to ensure that pay scales remain appropriate, or supplemented with non-monetary forms of compensation.

In all instances the interim pay scale should reflect differences in individual teaching experience, qualifications and training (if these can be validated). It should also allow for progression as teachers undergo training and attain higher qualifications. These additional salary costs need to be accounted for in education budgets. Pay scales should also be non-discriminatory and based upon policies of gender, disability, and ethnic or religious group equality. The experience described by Zarchin (2008) below indicates the potential risks—for children's learning and well-being especially—of compensation approaches that discriminate against certain teachers.

In 2004, the MoE with support from UNICEF established an IDP school in Zam Zam Camp in Darfur, Sudan. Initially, teachers were mostly volunteers recruited by the Parent–Teacher Committee (PTC) and usually not paid salaries. Qualified teachers were not available in the camp, therefore the MoE provided some teachers from El Fasher town, commuting daily from/to work in Zam Zam. Since the MoE did not initially recognise the volunteer teachers, they were not being paid, and therefore went on strike. The refugee schools were then closed for over a month. In response, UNICEF proposed a Government-owned in-service teacher-training programme. The MoE in collaboration with the PTC identified the volunteer teachers with the requisite qualifications for accessing training. Then the MoE and UNICEF worked out details of the training, including budgetary requirements. As of mid–2008, 18 volunteer teachers (6 with University degrees and 12 with high secondary school certificates) had been recruited as regular MoE teachers and deployed to rural schools. An important lesson learnt here is that if unqualified teachers are recruited it is critical to consider: (i) how to absorb volunteer teachers within the MoE payroll after they have completed a training course; (ii) government certification of volunteer teachers; (iii) the sustainability of the in-service training programme; (iv) incentives and lunches for volunteer teachers that have no salaries; and (iv) criteria for the selection of volunteer teachers (Zarchin, 2008).

An issue to note, however, is that in refugee camps pay scales may also need to recognise specialised teachers (such as secondary school teachers or special needs experts) from the country of asylum, refugee teachers, and also local teachers brought in to supplement teacher supply. Each of these groups will have their own salary expectations and may therefore need to be compensated in different forms and at different levels. For example, in Tanzania (1994–1996) there were three different pay scales in operation within the refugee camps. Local refugee staff received a modest incentive, which was supplemented with relief assistance in the form of food, health care and shelter. Meanwhile locally recruited staff received slightly higher pay, but no relief assistance. Specialist teachers brought into the camps received an even higher salary to attract personnel with the appropriate skills and to recognise their commuting or relocation costs (Sinclair, 2002). While there may not be equal pay between these groups, the agreed pay scales need to be clear and transparent to avoid tension.

Pay scales need to be realistic, appropriate to market conditions and sustainable. Thus stakeholders need to face the challenge of responding quickly but also sustainably (see Principle 6). It is important to recognise the tendency for interim solutions to unintentionally form the foundations for medium or long-term plans, and so where possible, approaches to compensation should be aligned with the existing government pay scale. At repatriation or return, the host government will need to resume responsibility for teacher salaries. Therefore, consideration may be needed as to how the system will accommodate additional teachers, both in terms of management and in the education budget.

Principle 5 Interim pay scales and conditions of service (INEE, 2010, pp. 98–100; IIEP, 2010, pp. 30–35; Fast Track Initiative, 2008).

8.2.2.2 *Sustaining teacher compensation scales*

When establishing or adapting interim arrangements for teacher compensation, stakeholders need to be aware of the impact on education budgets. Teacher salaries typically consume the majority of a state's education budget, with salary bills often accounting for more than 70% of recurrent expenditure, and in some cases over 90%. The EFA Fast Track Initiative (FTI)⁶ suggested an indicative target for average teacher salaries as 3.5 times per capita gross domestic product. In the interim, strategies to achieve this level of compensation (whether salaries need to be adjusted up or down) are beyond the capacity and immediate jurisdiction of most stakeholders. This, and the effect of market forces on compensation should, however, be borne in mind when establishing a level of compensation. By starting low, the risks of creating a level of compensation that is untenable in the long run are minimised. It is far easier to adjust wage levels upwards than to initiate a level that is unsustainable and have to try to adjust downwards at a later date (see example concerning the unsustainable salary levels of Liberian refugee teachers upon repatriation from Guinea and the Côte d'Ivoire under Principle 6 below).

However, salary levels also need to be high enough to attract teachers into the profession and to provide for their basic needs, so that they are not forced to seek additional income, as discussed under Principle 5. The supply of teachers, and therefore the level of payment, will be affected by market forces and will determine the demand for teaching posts within refugee and IDP camps and fragile communities. To retain teachers, but avoid spiralling teacher costs, strategies to supplement teacher salaries via allowances or improvements in teacher benefits (such as providing housing allowances) should be considered (see Principle 9). Or if there is a significant shortage of teachers, stakeholders should consider lowering the minimum qualification level to expand the workforce, but maintain the salary level for the higher qualified teachers (Mehrotra and Buckland, 1998). Conversely if there is an over-supply of qualified applicants for teaching positions, it is possible that either the salary level offered is relatively high in comparison to other sectors or that there is an excess supply of qualified teachers in that region who are all seeking work.

The salary level determined for displaced teachers should be both sustainable and efficient—that is, reflective of market conditions and the level of professional competencies, experience and responsibility—but within the framework of government policy of the teachers' country of origin and/or host country. To achieve this, salary levels need to be

⁶Now the Global Partnership for Education.

established in agreement with stakeholders via a participatory process. Agreed entitlements should be clear and transparent. Salaries should not exceed those of local teachers in the host country/community to avoid disparity, tension or the creation of an unsustainable salary structure.

In fragile situations where the period of displacement or unrest is indefinite or likely to persist over several years, stakeholders should carefully consider the appropriateness of an automatic annual salary increase. Over time, incremental raises may take the salary level beyond a sustainable level. For example, the pay for Liberian refugee teachers in Guinea and the Côte d'Ivoire increased to US\$80 per month over seven years of displacement, but at the time of repatriation the Liberian government could only afford to pay teachers US\$10 a month, thereby creating a disincentive for refugee teachers to continue teaching on their return (IIEP, 2010). In Pakistan, both refugee and national teachers worked with the established Afghan refugee schools set up in camps during the 1980s. Regional governments managed the schools, and teachers initially received wages in line with national pay scales. As the displacement continued into its second decade, however, funding of teacher salaries at this level became untenable, with donors unwilling to support long-term recurrent costs. In 1995 the schools were handed over to NGOs, who had to reduce levels of teacher compensation (Sinclair, 2002). Both these examples outline the need for stakeholders to consider the use of non-monetary forms of compensation such as tools or seeds, bicycles or teaching resources in response to inflation or increased costs of living rather than salary increases (see Principle 9 for further examples).

These examples highlight the fact that once implemented, teacher compensation policies set a precedent that teachers—and others—will then expect to be maintained. Thus if stakeholders act quickly but without taking the time to understand the local context and gather baseline information and data (Principle 1), policies may not be sustainable in the long term and instead of adhering to the second DAC principle for good engagement in fragile states and situations '*do no harm*', they may end up causing disillusionment, high levels of teacher turnover and absenteeism and brain-drain, potentially exacerbating instability.

Principle 6 Sustainability of adopted pay scales and affordability by government (OECD, 2007, Principle 9; IIEP, 2010, pp. 38–41; INEE, 2006a, p. 30).

8.2.2.3 Establishing equitable contractual arrangements

All teachers have a right to clearly defined conditions of work and should be recruited by participatory and transparent processes which are based on selection criteria that reflect diversity and equity (UNESCO/ILO, 2008). Stakeholders who are directly employing

teachers need to have clear and agreed criteria for compensation. These should be based upon non-discriminatory policies and actively promote equal rights, avoiding discrimination according to gender, or against IDPs, refugees or nationals. They should also take into consideration teachers' level of qualification and experience (if this can be validated), as established in Principle 5. Teacher employment policies should also ensure that men and women have equal rights in terms of pay, working conditions and opportunities for career progression, and that teachers commit, through a code of conduct, to provide an agreed level of professional services in exchange for their wage.

It is particularly important that in situations where teachers have fled due to persecution, payroll lists and all teacher information is kept securely with restricted access to protect teachers' rights and to ensure that this information is not abused and used to identify or target individuals. In Afghanistan during the Taliban regime, IRC-supported schools protected their female teachers by registering them under their husband's name (EQUIP2, 2006)

Principle 7 Appropriate levels of compensation and contractual arrangements (UN CEDAW, 1979, Articles 2, 3, 10 and 11; Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action, 2005, pre-amble, paragraphs 27, 30 and Chapter IV Strategic Objectives and Actions section B; UN OCHA, 1998, Principles 1, 2, 4, 22, 23; UN, 1951, Articles 3, 17 and 24; UNHCR, 2003, section 2.2.8).

8.2.2.4 Establishing feasible payment mechanisms

Any teacher compensation system needs to be supported by appropriate payment mechanisms. While banks may be the preferred mechanism for disbursing teacher salaries, this is not always feasible in situations of displacement or conflict, especially in rural areas. Where banks cannot be used, an appropriate local solution has to be identified that builds upon existing local structures and does not require teachers to spend their teaching hours travelling to receive payment. In Rwanda after the 1994 genocide, with the collapse of the banking system and its uneven recovery across the country, teachers in remote areas were paid in cash by Provincial education officials who travelled to schools and district offices to disburse salaries (Obura, 2003).

World Vision's work with rural schools for the general population in Southern Somalia sees both the local community and World Vision contributing funds towards teacher compensation, with contributions of 70% and 30%, respectively. More often, World Vision is the one that ends up contributing their full share (30%), with the communities' 70% being erratic as they struggle to fulfil their commitment. World Vision's contribution is in cash while the community's is in cash and/or kind. Both World Vision and the Community Edu-

cation Committee (CEC) agree on the amount to be paid per teacher depending on the ability of World Vision and the community, which is then communicated to the teachers and the community. All the contributions are given to the CEC, whose secretary keeps a record of the contributions and manages payments to teachers who have to collect and sign (Wattimah, 2008).

A similar mechanism is in place within the PACE-A project in Afghanistan. Here salaries are contributed entirely by the community. Many SMCs collect a small fee from each child to pay the teacher, whereas other SMCs will provide wheat, dried milk or other goods. Monitoring and verification that teachers are receiving compensation is achieved through signed receipts bearing signatures of the teacher and the SMC chairperson, as well as the teacher's time sheet. These documents are collected by the partner agency and are calculated as a cost share for the project as agreed by the donor, USAID. A teacher's teaching time is calculated as equivalent to US\$25 per month (Stannard, 2008).

In Afghanistan, where only 7% of the population has access to a bank, a system of mobile banking known as M-Paisa has been successfully piloted to pay police force salaries. Through SMS on a registered phone, police personnel were able to use their credit to buy goods or receive cash from approved stores. This has the potential to be applied to the payments of teacher salaries (Dolan, Golden, et al., 2012).

Principle 8 Accountability and fiduciary requirements of payments (INEE, 2010, pp. 28, 114).

8.2.3 Teachers' motivation, support and supervision as forms of non-monetary teacher compensation

8.2.3.1 Promoting and sustaining teachers' motivation

Teachers are motivated by seeing their students learn and develop, but they also need to fulfil their basic needs to enable them to remain within the profession. In situations of fragility where the value of teacher compensation is likely to be low, forms of non-monetary compensation that address teachers' immediate needs or improve their performance are likely to be effective in retaining a well-motivated workforce even if the level or frequency of monetary compensation is below desired levels. These can either supplement or replace monetary compensation, depending on the context, and may be provided by all stakeholders, whether or not they directly employ the teacher or are involved in teacher/school management—for example, parent–teacher associations (PTAs) and other community groups.

Five broad categories of compensation are considered here. The two main forms of monetary compensation include salaries and stipends. A salary is a fixed compensation periodically paid to a person for regular work or services, whereas a stipend is a form of payment or salary, usually associated with training or a period of on-the-job learning prior to full qualification such as volunteer or assistant teachers. Stipends are usually lower than a permanent salary for similar work. This is because the stipend is often complemented by other benefits such as accreditation, instruction, work experience, food, accommodation and personal satisfaction. An example of stipends is drawn from a UNICEF/Save the Children US programme of in-service training for volunteer teachers in Sudan. The aim of this programme was to improve standards in teaching and learning. Volunteer teachers attended weekly training aimed at equipping them with basic teaching skills, held at weekends so as not to interrupt the teaching schedule. Monthly training incentives of around 120 Sudanese pounds (equivalent to US\$60) were distributed to each teacher at the last training day of each month and were dependent on attendance at training (Garbutt, 2008).

A third type of compensation includes non-monetary allowances, such as housing, food or medical care. These non-monetary allowances reduce the day-to-day living expenses of teachers and seek to address their basic needs—for example, through provision of shelter, housing allowances, meals while in school, food allowances, bicycles or teaching resources. These have often been extended to include agricultural support in the form of either seeds or community initiatives to farm the teacher's land on their behalf. It is not uncommon for these allowances to exceed the value of teacher salaries, especially for low or unqualified teachers. An example of non-monetary allowances comes from the Kivu provinces of the DRC, where Save the Children UK provided teachers with a teachers' kit. This included teaching and personal items identified through discussions with teachers and SMCs. The personal kit provided a snack for teachers in school and certain clothing and family items (Ombaka, 2008a). In a Save the Children Sweden programme in Southern Sudan, communities took it upon themselves to volunteer farm produce such as maize, millet, beans, goats or even chickens to support teachers. This was arranged through the PTAs and community support groups. During the most severe food shortages, the teachers were included in the school-feeding programme provided by the World Food Programme (Wahome, 2008).

A fourth type of compensation includes opportunities for professional development and support. These could include (in-service) training and/or mentoring systems to support and motivate teachers and to provide more effective supervision and management. The majority of teachers in PACE-A-supported community schools in Afghanistan were not formally qualified and had not completed 12 years of schooling. These teachers received approximately 30 days of workshop training per year, for which they received a per diem and travel allowance of US\$5 per day. They could also expect visits from their trainers every couple of weeks to provide in-classroom support (Stannard, 2008). An example like this may not have immediate financial implications for teachers, but if it is part of a

process towards qualification and certification, it is likely to lead to more sustainable pay in the longer term.

The last type of compensation incorporates factors related to improved working conditions. Improvements can include:

- Providing a safe, comfortable and appropriate working environment for teachers and students;
- Ensuring manageable teacher: pupil ratios ($\leq 40:1$); and
- Ensuring access to teaching and learning materials, including the curriculum, teacher guides, sufficient textbooks and basic stationery.

PACE-A in Afghanistan and Save the Children UK's education project in the DRC both provided textbooks, stationery, teaching and learning materials to each class and replenished supplies when required. Save the Children UK also provided funding to rehabilitate schools and provide furniture where needed (Ombaka, 2008a; Stannard, 2008).

For sustainability, these approaches have to be locally owned by communities so that support for teachers continues even if an NGO project comes to an end. Indeed, community involvement even beyond teacher compensation and in school management is critical in maintaining teacher motivation and ensuring sufficient teachers (Mehrotra and Buckland, 1998).

In Afghanistan the PACE-A project worked closely with communities to provide resources for their schools. Teacher compensation was provided by the local community, with the NGO partners providing training and ongoing classroom support. The NGOs worked with community mobilisers to encourage community support, and PACE-A developed an SMC discussion guide on teacher compensation to assist these discussions. Communities have responded differently, with some actively engaged and motivated to support their teachers and schools, while others felt resentful that they were expected to provide this support when in other areas of the country schooling was provided for free (Stannard, 2008).

The IRC's experience in Ethiopia indicates that a community's willingness to support teachers is not significantly related to its economic status; some very poor communities were willing to offer more support than those who were less poor (Smith, 2008). Save the Children UK attributed this anomaly to the level of empowerment of a community and their involvement in decision-making processes. In the absence of strong government policy in the DRC, they found that communities that were engaged and empowered were more likely to provide resources and support teachers and their schools (Ombaka, 2008a).

Principle 9 Teachers' motivation and support (IIEP, 2010, pp. 35–37; INEE, 2010, pp. 65, 72, 80, 102).

8.2.3.2 Ensuring teacher professional development

In situations of fragility, qualified teachers are often in short supply, especially in camp situations. To provide education, volunteer, assistant or paraprofessional teachers are often recruited, without qualifications or training in teaching methodologies, but with a concern for the well-being of the children in the community and an interest in teaching. Even when qualified teachers are available, they often need additional training to cope with new and challenging issues, including multi-grade teaching, accelerated learning programmes, peace education, conflict resolution and psychosocial care (INEE, 2010, pp. 53–54; see also INEE Teacher Training Resource Kit at <http://toolkit.ineesite.org/toolkit/Home.php>). Additionally, as members of affected populations, teachers themselves may be suffering from trauma. Consequently there is a need for additional teacher support to improve the quality of teaching.

As well as the aforementioned UNICEF teacher training programme in the Zam Zam Camp in Darfur, Sudan, two IRC programmes in Ethiopia provided successful training programmes to teachers. Using the organisation's Healing Classrooms approaches, the IRC used peer mentoring to support teacher development for Eritrean refugee teachers. By working with a reputable National Ethiopian College, the IRC was able to facilitate teacher certification for ten Sudanese teachers just prior to the completion of the planned refugee repatriation operation to the Blue Nile region (Smith, 2008).

Principle 10 Teacher training and professional support (INEE, 2010, pp. 101–102; UNHCR, 2003, section 2.2.5).

8.2.3.3 Ensuring effective teacher management and supervision

Effective systems of management, supervision and accountability are vital for maintaining teacher motivation, upholding teaching quality and helping to advocate for teacher compensation. These systems should be clarified within teachers' contracts. Effective local supervision helps minimise teacher absenteeism, but can also help identify particular issues facing teachers—for example, very high pupil–teacher ratios, particular resource constraints, or difficulties teachers may be having supporting traumatised children. In this way, support not only helps to maintain teaching quality but also provides teachers with

opportunities to share concerns and seek advice. Management systems should be linked to arrangements for compensation, and play a role in minimising corruption and wastage through the appearance of ‘ghost-teachers’ on payrolls. As described by Nestory (2007), one of the challenges found in Tanzania was deceitfulness in updating the names on the payroll of the refugee teachers supposed to be paid. Names of teachers who had repatriated continued to be submitted by the heads of schools. As a result, there was strict follow up and daily update of names by the project rather than relying on the names presented by the heads of schools.

The *INEE Minimum Standards* and other good-practice guidelines assert the importance of community participation in all aspects of education provision. Teacher accountability and support mechanisms should therefore be supported by the local community, via SMCs or PTAs. For example, in Liberia the IRC worked with local communities and the MoE to produce a PTA manual providing guidance on PTA roles. The manual consolidated good practice and provide support and advice to PTAs. Liberian education law recognises PTAs as one of the principal forms of governance structure in facilitating decentralised management and school development (Sullivan-Owomoyela and Brannelly, 2009). The manual includes sections on PTAs’ participation in monitoring and supervision of teachers, participatory budgeting and encouraging regular school visits. It also proposes the creation of a Monitoring and Evaluation body whose responsibility includes conducting needs assessments for teachers and students and planning appropriate responses and monitoring school facilities and the relationship between teachers and students. In addition, it provides advice on mobilising resources, generating income and simple, transparent accounting (Liberian Ministry of Education, 2008).

Principle 11 Ensure appropriate supervision of teachers including performance appraisals and opportunities for continuous professional development (INEE, 2010, pp. 101–102).

8.3 Conclusions

Adequate and sustainable teacher compensation strategies for situations of fragility must be responsive, appropriate and coordinated. Responsiveness should support rapid educational programming in emergency situations but also promote continuity and sustainability in teacher supply and quality. Appropriateness to the local context implies remaining realistic, recognising the roles and responsibilities of stakeholders, and building upon government frameworks where possible. Participation of all stakeholders in decision-making processes should ensure that strategies are owned and sustainable, especially if capacity development approaches are used. Coordination avoids the duplication of efforts and multiple levels of pay, which can in turn create tensions in already fragile

contexts. Furthermore, strategies should recognise a holistic view of the teacher, using non-monetary compensation to maintain motivation and address diverse teacher needs. Responsiveness, appropriateness and coordination are mutually reinforcing foundations. For example, by ensuring that responses are appropriate and coordinated, there is greater potential for sustainability; and having an appropriate payment mechanism for disbursement of funds provides a foundation for accountability and maintaining teacher motivation.

There is no definitive solution to the problem of teacher compensation; it is highly dependent on the local context, capacity and resources. But the principles outlined in this chapter, and the associated guidance provided in the INEE Guidance Notes, provide a foundation on which appropriate and sustainable decisions for compensation can be made. The Guidance Notes are a tool for NGOs, donors, NSAs, governments and other education stakeholders to develop well-considered interventions, around which to document evidence from lessons learned and further share good practice. These processes help to develop the knowledge base on which to build even more effective strategies for teacher compensation in situations of fragility.

Appendix 1:

Framework for good practice process of compensating teachers

Strategies for compensation set precedents that can raise teacher expectations and affect future planning and budgeting for teacher salaries. As such, stakeholders planning and implementing teacher compensation strategies need to fully consider the implications in the medium and long term as situations become less fragile. Table 8.4 offers a framework for understanding typical progression from interim arrangements made during or immediately after a crisis, towards establishment of a sustainable system. It is based on a review of experience in a range of different situations and offers an illustrative framework to track progress.

Table 8.4**Framework for good practice process of compensating teachers**

Schools	Interim arrangements	Transition mechanisms^a	Long-term target
Refugee schools	<p>NGOs/UN agencies often playing key role, both in education provision and teacher compensation.</p> <p>Donor funding via humanitarian aid or project support.</p> <p>Teachers provided with standardised stipends/incentives from NGOs/UN agencies; with training for teachers (especially underqualified teachers).</p> <p>Standardised approaches to compensation reviewed for transition into sustainable plans, considering pay sales for teachers trained during displacement, the use of appropriate incentives to minimise 'brain drain' and coordination with non-formal education.</p> <p>Communities take active role and contribute to educational activities (e.g. mobilisation of children) in the camps or settlement sites.</p>	<p>Dialogue between donors/NGOs/UN agencies, host and home governments.</p> <p>Donor funding via humanitarian aid or project support with transition to trust funds and pooled funding in protracted situations.</p> <p>Support from the Diaspora communities.</p>	<p>Communication between donor, NGO and home government on facilitating repatriation of teachers and integration into national pay scales and payrolls.</p> <p>Donor funding via project support, trust funds or pooled funding to host governments in protracted situations.</p> <p>Support from the Diaspora communities.</p>
IDP schools	<p>As above, except government also playing a key role in education provision and teacher compensation.</p> <p>Where possible and applicable, arrangements made for reallocation of relevant funding to locations to which government teachers have been displaced, and for their service there.</p>	<p>Phased handover from NGOs back to the government (local/district education offices).</p> <p>Teachers register on regular salary system and payroll to support full reintegration on return.</p> <p>Donor funding to government via humanitarian aid or project support with transition to trust funds and pooled funding in protracted situations.</p>	<p>As above but in relation to relocating teachers rather than repatriating them.</p> <p>Government managing teacher compensation process.</p>

^aIt is not assumed that the transition is chronological from interim arrangements to transition mechanisms as in some contexts, the interim arrangements could be very similar or the same as transition mechanisms and ideally some of the transition mechanisms may be in place from the beginning of the crisis. This table reflects how the transition should be made if interim arrangements are in place and transition to a longer-term more stable state is possible.

continued

Table 8.4
(continued)

Schools	Interim arrangements	Transition mechanisms ^a	Long-term target
Schools in returnee areas	<p>Funding from donor-funded project support, trust funds, budget support or pooled funds.</p> <p>Teachers provided with government salaries where possible or supported with standardised stipends/incentives from NGOs and/or communities —via community education committees (CECs) or school management committees (SMCs).</p>	<p>Interim salary structure, payroll and management information systems.</p> <p>Establishing systems for accreditation, recruitment, management and conduct, including accreditation of teachers trained during displacement (with UN/NGO technical support).</p> <p>Community role in supporting teacher (compensation and supervision) maintained.</p> <p>Funding from trust funds, budget support or pooled funds and government budget.</p>	<p>National teacher salary scale and payroll and management information systems.</p> <p>Community role in supporting teacher maintained.</p> <p>Funding from donor trust funds, budget support or pooled funds and government budget.</p> <p>Government managing teacher compensation process.</p>
Schools for the population at large	<p>Teachers provided with government salaries where possible or supported with standardised stipends/incentives from NGOs and/or communities (via CECs or SMCs).</p> <p>State retains lead role in providing compensation, supported by donors/NGOs/UN agencies where applicable.</p> <p>Donor funding via humanitarian aid or project support.</p>	<p>Phased handover from NGOs back to the government (local/district education offices).</p> <p>Interim salary structure, payroll and management information systems.</p> <p>Community role in supporting teacher (compensation and supervision) maintained.</p> <p>Funding from donor project support, trust funds, budget support or pooled funds and government budget.</p>	As above.

Note. This table is replicated from Appendix 4 of the INEE *Guidance Notes on Teacher Compensation in Fragile States, Situations of Displacement and Post-crisis Return* (2009) and is aligned with the EFA-FTI *Progressive Framework*. The table headings follow those in the EFA-FTI *Progressive Framework*, a framework which has been put together in relation to supporting education in fragile states.

^aIt is not assumed that the transition is chronological from interim arrangements to transition mechanisms as in some contexts, the interim arrangements could be very similar or the same as transition mechanisms and ideally some of the transition mechanisms may be in place from the beginning of the crisis. This table reflects how the transition should be made if interim arrangements are in place and transition to a longer-term more stable state is possible.

Women teaching and leading in Pakistan: exploring the challenges and possibilities

Dilshad Ashraf

Since the report and the recommendations of the country's first Commission on National Education (Ministry of Education, Pakistan, 1959), there has been a visibly greater emphasis on female participation in education in Pakistan's education policies. A historical review of education policy and its related documents also explains a gradual shift in the nature of the emphasis on female participation in education policies over the years. While earlier policies framed girls' and women's education as instrumental in improving their efficiency for fulfilling family responsibilities and preparing them for traditionally female professions e.g. teaching, nursing), the education policies since 1970 (e.g. National Education Policy, 1998–2010) now lay greater emphasis on education as a right for all, with an underlying gender-encompassing approach. The review of education policies also reveals another discourse about women teachers running parallel to the emphasis on female participation in education.

National Education Policy 2009 has further reaffirmed its commitment around Educational For All and Millennium Development Goals with a visible emphasis on social cohesion (Ministry of Education, Pakistan, 2009). A continuous stress in the policy on the induction of female teachers seems to be a strategic intervention aimed at an improved participation of girls and women in education, and it has led to a substantial increase in the number of female teachers, particularly during the 1990s. The proportion of women among primary school teachers increased from 33.4% in 1990 to 44.2% in 2000; in secondary schools, the proportion increased from 32% in 1990 to 54.3% in 2001 (Farah and Shera, 2007). Current official statistics indicate that 53% of all primary school teachers and 56% of all secondary school teachers are now women. In Northern Pakistan, according to the same sources, women constitute 43% of the overall teaching force in educational institutions (AEPN, 2011).

Commission on National Education 1959

Provide equal facilities, in terms of quantity and quality, for the education of boys and girls.

Preferably employ women as teachers for the primary level.

Education Policy 1970

Establish separate girls' schools wherever possible to overcome parents' resistance to girls' education.

Relax minimum requirement of qualifications for recruitment in primary school, if necessary, to encourage the appointment of female teachers.

Education Policy 1972–1980

Make education up to Class 10 free and universal for both boys and girls.

Increase the proportion of women teachers in primary schools even if this involves lowering the minimum academic qualifications in certain areas. This will help reduce parents' resistance and allow co-educational primary schools.

National Education Policy, 1992–2002

Primary education to be compulsory and free.

Provide special incentive to enrol and retain girls in schools.

Offer distance education to increase women's access to education.

Provide financial subsidies to non-government organizations offering literacy and formal education programmes for women and girls in rural areas.

Recruit female teachers for primary schools particularly in rural areas.

National Education Policy, 1998–2010

Take steps to ensure full participation of women in all spheres of national life; introduce Free and Compulsory Education Act in all provinces.

Launch a massive non-formal basic education programme for out of school children and youth, particularly for girls and young women in rural areas.

Construct new elementary schools and classrooms preferably for girls.

Relax age limit for female teachers and provide special package of incentives to facilitate their entry into the profession.

Source: Farah and Shera (2007)

The data presented above suggest a positive quantitative change, which nevertheless calls for deliberations on women's experiences in schools in a patriarchal society. The present chapter examines the arguments presented for women teachers' induction into teaching. Drawing on a study that I conducted on women teachers' experiences of balanc-

ing their multiple commitments in the mountainous Northern Areas of Pakistan as well as on other relevant research studies, the chapter highlights the challenges facing these women in their career as teachers and school leaders. It describes and analyses women teachers' attempts to negotiate their professional and personal roles through sometimes conforming to and at other times resisting the prevailing local gender norms. Some recommendations are also put forward to improve the possibilities of women teaching and leading in the schools.

9.1 Women teachers and education

In addition to strategies such as teacher training and gender-sensitive curricula and textbooks to improve girls' enrolment, employing more women teachers is seen as an important strategy to achieve the EFA goal of 2015 regarding gender equality in education (UNESCO, 2006b). It is argued that increasing the number of women teachers can have a positive impact on girls' education. According to an Advocacy Brief, a correlation between the two is reported in sub-Saharan Africa. Furthermore, countries with equal numbers of male and female teachers are reported to have better gender parity in education (UNESCO, 2006b). An analysis of the arguments presented for an increased emphasis on women teachers for improving female education is presented here.

The view that the presence of women teachers in schools promotes girls' participation in education prevails widely in the South Asian context. Several studies (Heward, 1999; Karlekar, 2000; UNESCO, 2000b, 2010) have presented various explanations for the emphasis on women teachers. First, parents prefer their daughters to be taught by women teachers. A comparative study (UNESCO, 2000b) in the rural areas of Pakistan, Bangladesh, India and Nepal revealed that the presence of at least one woman teacher in the school gave parents a sense of security. This becomes particularly important for girls in Grades 3 and above. A reluctance to send girls to schools with male teachers is a frequently observed phenomenon. Second, in communities where women are predominantly seen in their traditional family roles, women teachers offer a positive role model for young girls (Ashraf, 2004) who otherwise may have difficulty in developing a similar association with their male teachers. Furthermore, mothers feel more comfortable discussing their children's progress and problems with female teachers than with their male teachers. Third, the presence of women teachers is likely to have a positive impact on female students' learning outcomes. In Pakistan, better composite scores were reported for students in primary schools with women teachers than for students in primary schools with men teachers (UNESCO, 2000b). Fourth, women teachers are found to be more effective in Grades 1 and 2, where good teacher–student relationships are crucial for students' retention in the schools. An overall increase in the number of women teachers, therefore, can be seen as a positive sign for female education.

However, an increased induction of women into teaching has also generated debate around the tendency to see men and women teachers' needs as similar. It is an important fact that women's needs differ from those of their male counterparts because of their multiple roles and their specific position in the society. Specifically, the progression of many women teachers is a cause of conflict between their potential career development and their societal position of subordination with uncontested family responsibilities (Gaynor, 1997).

Specifically, women teachers in Pakistan face innumerable issues that are generally categorised as social and logistical problems (Ashraf, 2004; Sheikh and Iqbal, 2003). Social structures that confine women strictly to their familial role of care-giving result in disapproval of women's engagement in work outside home and their aspirations for a career. As described by Nayar (1988) in her comparative study of women teachers in Nepal, Sri Lanka and India, once married, a woman generally has to follow the path and will of her husband, whose career moves (with transfers from one place to another) generally mean aborted career prospects for the wife. Poor infrastructure, particularly in public transportation, poses yet another challenge for women teachers who have to commute from home to the workplace. The absence of proper means of transportation prevents them from taking up teaching positions far from their homes. Women teachers' appointment in remote rural areas is yet another challenge because of the lack of residential facilities and the security risks associated with single women staying in those areas. This also leads to women with higher qualifications applying for lower qualified jobs because they are unable to leave their families for more compatible jobs (Sheikh and Iqbal, 2003).

In sum, the promotion of female education has contributed to women teachers' increased induction into the teaching profession. However, numerous challenges confront women teachers: these are generally rooted in their familial responsibilities, which shape their career in the teaching profession.

The following section explains the role of the family in women teachers' ascent to leadership and their enactment of leadership in schools in the context of Pakistan.

9.2 The role of family

Some recent studies (Ashraf, 2007; Baig, 2008; Nyangaga, 2007; Rarieya, 2007) on women teachers' and leaders' work in schools in Pakistan show the way the social world around these women shapes and directs their experiences as professionals. Specifically, these studies highlight parents' dominant role in either facilitating or impeding these teachers' accession to leadership roles. Importantly, increasing pressure is also reported to be exerted by the immediate families to comply with socio-cultural norms and religious beliefs with regard to these women's appearance and behaviour in society.

Parental influence and family support, as reported in these studies, seemed to play a critical role by paving the way for women's entry into the profession and experiences in leadership (Baig, 2008; Nyangaga, 2007; Panah, 2009). The research participants' journey in these studies towards leadership in education also illustrates the impact of socio-cultural norms and dominant gender beliefs on the women's personal and professional lives. Their experiences in their families before marriage and in their marital home had been shaped by the influence of societal norms on family members' views about women's roles and responsibilities and whether women can enter into a career.

These studies around women teachers' lives have highlighted the roles of male family members, especially of their fathers, as main decision-makers in their lives, which is in line with the norms of a patriarchal community. The positive influence of fathers on women school leaders is particularly reported in studies conducted by Panah (2009), Baig (2008) and Nyangaga (2007). The fathers of these women encouraged and helped them to get an education and to develop sound academic and moral values. These studies report that the fathers' assertive and dominant behaviour also influenced the women's identity, their drive to become leaders and their perceptions of themselves as leaders. A similar influence of the family patriarch on shaping and directing her aspirations for higher education is noticeable in Bashiruddin's (2007) self-study report. In contrast to the family patriarch's positive role in the education of the women teachers and leaders in the studies by Baig (2008), Nyangaga (2007), and Ashraf (2007), the decision to solemnise early marriages of these women was an obvious submission to the local gender norms. At times, early marriages with minimal years of schooling significantly affected the participants' work even at the primary school level, for which secondary and higher secondary level education (Grades 10 and 12) is considered sufficient for prospective teachers and their eventual work as head teachers/teachers in-charge.

Research on women teachers' experiences of teaching and leading in northern Pakistan (Ashraf, 2004, 2007, 2008) indicates tensions between their personal family commitments and their professional aspirations. In that region, teaching has long been recognised as the most appropriate profession and as a readily available off-farm employment opportunity for women. This profession can be considered appropriate on the basis of two major factors. First, the policy is for women teachers to be generally appointed to schools within their own villages, and this reduces the likelihood of their interaction with men unrelated to them. Second, working hours within schools allow women enough time to fulfil their responsibilities towards their extended families: farming and cattle rearing in the mornings and afternoons. Even though women take up employment to earn income for their families, family members often resist these teachers' attempts to take advantage of professional development opportunities if they require travel away from home. Women's restricted mobility and their familial roles are two obvious reasons for this resistance. Non-conformity to ascribed familial roles and to culturally approved codes of conduct have invited wider criticism.

The gendered division of labour as practised and maintained by these communities in the past is also being reconsidered. Travel by the male members of the family to the urban centres for off-farm employment and education has been a major cause of an expansion in women's familial role in rural areas. Women are now found engaged in all kinds of farming chores in addition to attending to the needs of their extended families. Educationally qualified women's entrance into teaching does not generally release them from their familial roles. A paid job, in fact, is seen as an addition to their ever-expanding familial role.

Although all five women teachers in the study (Ashraf, 2004, 2007, 2008) entered the field of education because of their family's financial needs, the data provide evidence of their attempts to negotiate their familial roles with their families in order to enable them to fulfil their job-related responsibilities. For instance, compensating for their absence from farming and household work through a monetary contribution to the family income, reducing the number of family cattle and using weekends for bigger farming tasks are some common strategies that women use to keep their professional commitments intact. At times women teachers coordinated with neighbours to complete bigger farming tasks such as cutting grass in the family pasture or picking apricots in the family garden. This arrangement allowed them to do on a Sunday those seasonal farming tasks that may otherwise take several days if done by family members.

Negotiating their identity as professionals in patriarchal communities also engaged women intermittently in determining the scope of their mobility. A display of conformity to the patriarchal norm of women's restricted mobility surfaced during the initial stage of women's induction in schools. At times they were escorted by male members of the family, particularly when the school was situated in a neighbouring village. These women gradually gained confidence for commuting independently to the schools and the education offices. Examples of seeking alternatives for the traditional familial role to establish their professional identity also show their commitment. Involving husband and grown-up children (boys) in household chores and negotiating with a neighbouring female relative to breastfeed the baby during her long working hours at a school are, as Kirk (2008b, p. 81) explains, deliberate attempts on the part of women teachers to balance what is doable within boundaries that are quite rigid.

9.3 Women in school leadership roles

Gender plays an important role in teachers' ascent to headship (e.g. Ashraf, 2004; Panah, 2008). Because of their better academic and professional qualifications, male teachers have better chances to avail themselves of a headship position, whereas female teachers may need to struggle longer to achieve better academic and professional credentials in order to prove their ability to assume a headship position. Women's familial responsibilities and dominant perceptions about women's restricted mobility often prove a hindrance in getting the education and professional training necessary for mobility in a career. In

fact, women teachers' aspiration to assume leadership roles in schools can be a challenge itself in the context of a patriarchal society. They are often hindered by dominant perceptions of women as being emotionally weak and incapable of assuming authoritative roles, which work against them in both the public and the private school systems (Ashraf, 2004, 2007, 2008, 2009; Memon, 2005; Rarieya, 2007). These views therefore have led to the under-representation of women in leadership in the education system of Pakistan.

The complexity of the competing demands of personal and professional lives is further intensified by the women's struggle to establish their identity as leaders. Non-supportive workplace and organisational structures are recognised as major barriers to women's work as leaders (Ashraf, 2004, 2007; Memon, 2005; Rarieya, 2007). Male-oriented school leadership practices (e.g. visiting education offices located far from schools, school management committee meetings after school hours and at weekends) complicate women's work as leaders. Given the opportunity, however, women leaders will negotiate with their patriarchal families and society for gaining independent mobility, for a gendered delegation of tasks among male and female teachers and for making alternative arrangement for their nurturing roles in order to accommodate their professional commitments. In Northern Pakistan, for example, women school leaders have worked to modify acceptable notions of care-giving roles of women, which required them to negotiate with neighbours and family members to help them in looking after their children while they spent extended hours in school (Ashraf, 2004). To safeguard their professional integrity, women teachers and leaders attempt to reconcile their various roles, which leads to reviewing dominant gender relationships in the mountain communities.

Research on women school leaders in Northern Pakistan (Ashraf, 2004) shows the attempts made by women leaders to negotiate the transition between public and private gendered spaces. The indigenous social structures in the mountains draw a clear demarcation of public and private spaces between men and women. One woman school leader challenged this division in a subtle manner. At school she distributed tasks among male and female teachers (e.g. a male teacher maintained finance, while female teachers took care of the resource corner and the small library), which somewhat reflected the local gender dynamics. However, her position during the staff meetings also indicated her authority as head teacher. The small staffroom, also used as a head teacher's office, had a number of chairs along the wall; however, one chair behind the table was always occupied by her. Although she invited her senior male colleagues to a conversation with a rowdy community member, her frequent interactions with the community at large and the parents reflected her confident demeanour as a woman leader. This head teacher's frequent visits to the education office regarding school matters also explained visible attempts to establish her identity as a female leader. Commuting back and forth between her school and the education office by public transport without a male companion was, in her view, an important step to fulfil her professional commitments. She also negotiated the frequency of these visits with school officials because of the challenges of independent mobility. A further modification of the male model of leadership was to change the tim-

ing of meetings with parents and the community, which had generally been arranged for after-school hours or Sundays. She revised this practice so that the meetings took place either within or immediately after school hours. An understanding of her colleagues' professional and personal lives and insights into problems faced by the students beyond the school boundaries allowed this woman leader to reach out to them as a concerned individual and professional.

9.4 Discussion

The significance of women teachers' induction in schools with reference to girls' education, as discussed earlier, is a widely documented phenomenon. Recognising the stated value of women teachers' work in patriarchal societies in encouraging girls' participation in education also requires unpacking these women teachers' and leaders' situated experiences, which, in the words of Kirk (2008b), are "characterized by dialectics of agency and submission, power and powerlessness, the possible with impossible and by a delicate balancing of what is doable within boundaries that are quite rigid" (p. 81). Researching women's experiences reveals the process through which women teachers and leaders negotiate their identity, their physical and ideological space, and their agency. The fact that "organizational patterns and structures [of educational institutions] reflect male values" (Gaynor, 1997, p. 28) requires a constant analysis of women teachers' and leaders' struggle to gain and exercise their role as professionals. The discourse on women teachers also reveals the interaction of their "multiple identities and subjectivities, shifting positions and ever-changing power dynamics within complex discursive field" (Kirk, 2008b, p. 82) that emerge from their becoming teachers and leaders.

An analysis of women teachers' and leaders' experiences suggests that they have a dual stake in ensuring gender parity in education—leading the change and benefiting from the process—both of which require them to confront considerable societal, familial and cultural obstacles (Ashraf, 2008, p. 53). Women teachers' and leaders' contribution towards promoting girls' education and changing rigid societal systems illustrates their conviction to transform gender relationships in patriarchal communities. Understanding the interrelationships between women teachers' various domains of activity—familial and professional—is a vital analysis strategy for development stakeholders. Furthermore, a study of women teachers' experiences of negotiating their roles as teachers and leaders demonstrates a need on the part of the education organisations to take a strategic position to influence the current situation of women's participation in education. Some recommendations in this regard are as follows.

Formulating gender-equitable education policies is a fundamental key step towards the induction of women teachers and leaders in education to create a gender-inclusive educational environment. Current policies regarding educational leadership in Pakistan also need to recognise the experiences of women educational leaders. A key step in this regard

will be revisiting the current definition of leadership and existing practices to foster women's aspirations for assuming leadership roles. A gender analysis of existing policies and practices of leadership and school headship will help to explain how the present model accommodates or hinders women teachers assuming leadership roles.

With a consideration of local culture and women's nurturing roles, childcare facilities need to be established within the schools in order to encourage more women to take up leadership roles.

Affirmative action in terms of formulating policies to induct and retain more women is required in order to promote a gender equality model across the organisation.

Teacher education discourse needs to encompass close reflection on the barriers and challenges that women face in becoming and eventually being educational leaders, in order to allow their full participation in educational leadership in a context where, according to Nyangaga (2007), women are largely absent from decision-making bodies in education.

10

More and better teachers: making the slogan a reality

Martial Dembélé and F. Halsey Rogers

Teacher issues are climbing ever higher on the education agenda worldwide, in the drive to make the right to quality basic education for all a reality. One illustration of the increased policy attention is the endorsement of a Task Force on Teachers for EFA by the participants at the eighth High-Level Group meeting on EFA in December 2008 (www.teachersforefa.unesco.org/v2/index.php/en). But despite the wide agreement that more and better teachers are needed, how to make this slogan a reality remains open for discussion. In this concluding chapter, we sum up lessons from the preceding chapters. First, we discuss how this volume can contribute to the discussion and debate on teacher issues. We then present a set of suggestions that can help guide policy, planning and action. These suggestions are framed around the two main determinants of teaching quality: the teacher's knowledge and skills, and the teacher's motivation and effort.

10.1 The contribution of this volume to the ongoing discussion

From the preceding chapters, it is clear that teacher issues are complex and much more than a numbers game. Teacher issues go far beyond what is often the focus of policy discussions, i.e. teacher education and continuing professional development. They include also issues of status, working conditions (including compensation and social and physical security), and management (including recruitment, selection, deployment, career advancement, motivation, incentives and retention). Addressing these issues is quite challenging as they are all interrelated.

Teachers are men and women with their own identities, experiences and priorities through which their professional and personal concerns and needs are constructed. They play

a wide range of social roles—mothers, fathers, sons, daughters, community leaders, for example. They may take up more overtly political roles as human rights activists, social change agents and/or vocal advocates for quality education. Teachers assume diverse positions in a range of social, political and economic institutions, organisations and structures, as well as within schools and education systems—in families and kinship structures, community organisations, community leadership structures, savings schemes, collective garden groups, even military or paramilitary structures.

What does all this have to do with teacher policy? It is true that these relations, affiliations, cultural, religious and other values and beliefs are constructed in and through the varied positions and roles we might describe as ‘personal’. However, these in turn affect and shape teachers’ professional sense of teacher identity, their ‘teacherness’. Teachers affected or infected by HIV-AIDS, for example, have status, health, financial and family security issues to address while continuing to work as teachers—and maybe even to address *through* their work as teachers.

Teachers’ professional and personal roles and relations are also shaped by broader contextual factors related to the social, political and economic milieu in which they live and work. Teachers living in conflict-affected contexts, for example, are forced to prioritise their own survival and security, especially where their ethnicity, religion, political or trade union affiliation casts them on one particular ‘side’. The chilling statistics on political violence against teachers reported by Novelli (chapter 6, this volume) are illustrative in this respect and remind us that teachers *are* political actors (Ginsburg and Kamat, 2009; Ginsburg and Lindsay, 1995), whether or not they define themselves as such.

Many teachers in emergency or post-crisis situations have not chosen to become teachers. Instead, the situation has compelled them to enter the profession: they have responded to the needs of the community and to the lack of other livelihood opportunities by becoming ‘spontaneous’ teachers. Unfortunately, this also means that they are often ‘tentative’ teachers with a fragile professional identity (Kirk and Winthrop, chapter 7, this volume; Winthrop and Kirk, 2005). For those teachers whose schools have been devastated by earthquakes or other natural disasters, the professional challenges of teaching in a tent or in the open are matched by the personal challenges of rebuilding their own homes and their families’ livelihoods. There are also teachers working in fragile states in which chronic under-funding, corruption and political interference impact heavily on their personal and professional lives. In all these contexts, the vulnerabilities of women teachers, especially to sexual violence, are often overlooked.

Even in contexts of relative normalcy, women teachers must deal with challenges that affect their work and career. As reported by Dilshad Ashraf (chapter 9, this volume), women working as teachers or head teachers in the northern areas of Pakistan have to negotiate various interconnected professional and personal situations through compliance and resistance to a complex set of local gender norms. Local gender norms constrain the work

and career of women teachers in other developing country contexts as well. In light of evidence of the positive impact of women teachers on girls' education (Kirk, 2008a), there are clear reasons to set gender balance as an important policy objective and take steps to ensure that women who embrace teaching can enjoy a rewarding career—including adequate compensation, professional development and career advancement opportunities—just like their male colleagues.

Research and policy studies related to teachers, however, have so far tended to separate systems from individuals—especially in developing country contexts, where much less attention is paid to teacher background and identity. Systems analysis and consideration of issues such as teacher supply, demand, pre-service education and continuing professional development usually remain separated from studies of teachers' classroom, family and community experiences. Discussions of the gendered nature of teachers' lives and work, perceptions and motivations and of the impacts of the different forces of globalisation, experiences of violence and living in conflict contexts take place elsewhere; the role of teachers' unions in both technical and contractual issues is also rarely considered.

Systems-level strategies to increase and improve the teaching force need to be informed by consideration of teachers' lived experiences. As Rogers and Vegas argue (chapter 4, this volume), for example, teacher absenteeism is a system-level issue that seriously impacts the quality of education, but effective policy cannot be developed without understanding why teachers are absent in the first place and what the barriers to regular attendance are. Other critical teacher and teacher management issues that demand interconnected micro- and macro-level analysis include teacher compensation (how much and how to pay teachers and para-teachers in relation to relative salary levels, the supply of potential teachers and social attitudes towards teachers and teaching); teacher education and support (how to promote quality education, especially with limited resources and under-qualified teachers); teachers' sexuality and HIV/AIDS (teachers' own experiences of living with the disease or with caring for those affected by it, and their relative comfort levels with talking about sex and sexual activity with students, with peers); and measures to address gender disparities in the teaching profession (understanding the complex gender roles and relations that men and women have in families, communities and other institutions and organisations and understanding the different opportunities and limitations they might have in promoting gender equality).

In light of the foregoing, we argue that a more dynamic and comprehensive framework in which to situate teachers *and* teacher management issues can support improved education planning and management and improved teacher and teacher management outcomes. UNESCO's Teacher Training Initiative for Sub-Saharan Africa (TTISSA) is a promising initiative in this respect (see Pontefract, Bonnet, and Vivekanandan, chapter 2, this volume). This chapter and the others provide important building blocks in the development of more teacher-centred policies, especially in the critical contexts of sub-Saharan Africa

and South and West Asia, where the need for new teachers is the most intense. We now turn to a discussion of some of these building blocks.

10.2 Ensuring that teachers have the right knowledge and skills

To a large extent, what society expects from schools is what it expects from teachers, for what students learn at school ultimately depends on their interactions with their teacher(s) in the classroom. (For a useful discussion of the importance of teacher-student interactions, see Samoff, 2007.) The content and quality of these interactions in turn depend largely on what teachers know and can do. Ensuring that teachers have the knowledge and skills necessary to foster effective student learning is therefore of paramount importance. The question is how, where and when to help teachers acquire these skills and knowledge. If in general there is agreement on the need for some form of teacher education and for organised teacher development opportunities, the same cannot be said about their content, length, location and the like, or about the resources to be devoted to them.

Surprisingly, given the large amounts of money spent on teacher education and training, there are no definitive answers to these questions yet (see, for instance, Darling-Hammond, 2002, versus Walsh, 2002; Schwille and Dembélé, 2007; Wilson, Floden, and Ferrini-Mundy, 2001). To be sure, there are inherent difficulties in answering these questions, given that schooling, teaching and teacher education must adapt to societal changes and differences. Indeed, answers to these questions likely vary over time even within the same country.

In most developing countries, following the 1990 EFA conference and in response to demand and cost, two interrelated trends have emerged: (1) a shift towards a contractualisation model (not entirely a position-based model) for managing teacher employment, away from the career-based model that had been dominant before; and (2) a reduction in the length and importance of teacher preparation in favour of continuing professional development. These trends are not without consequences, as Dembélé and Mellouki discuss in chapter 3. They call for improving teacher preparation, “instead of either reducing its length to a point where it is difficult to do anything worth while or abandoning it altogether because of its alleged or documented ineffectiveness and related costs”. Teacher preparation, they argue, is all the more important as it may be “the only structured professional learning opportunity for most teachers posted in [rural and hard-to-reach] areas”—the very areas where the struggle for universal primary education must ultimately be won. In other words, there is a *need to evaluate the implications and effectiveness of the accelerated or alternative models of teacher preparation* that many developing countries have adopted since the early 1990s, with the goal of identifying possible improvements.

Regardless of programme length, effective teacher learning (at both the pre-service and in-service levels) requires placing teachers at the centre of their own learning, argue Kirk and Winthrop (chapter 7) and Pithouse-Morgan et al. (chapter 5). A teacher-centered approach entails paying attention to teachers' own voices or stories, to who they really are, to the forces and factors that motivate and demotivate them, and to the challenges that affect their basic well-being. This approach is not totally new. What is new is the move away from the deficit model of teacher training to one where more complex configurations of personal and professional needs, desires, perspectives and priorities are recognised, as in the International Rescue Committee's Healing Classroom Initiative described by Kirk and Winthrop. What is also new is Pithouse-Morgan et al.'s argument for arts-based approaches such as "participatory videos, photo-messages, drawings or pieces of autobiographical writing", to foster participation and self-reflection among both prospective and practicing teachers. Pithouse-Morgan et al. have successfully used such approaches to enhance prospective as well as practicing teachers' engagement with sexuality and HIV- and AIDS-related issues across a range of subject areas in South Africa. It seems reasonable to expect that they could be used successfully in other contexts and to deal with other issues that may merit inclusion in the curriculum, such as environmental degradation, cultural diversity, social exclusion, conflicts and peace.

As noted above, one obstacle to devising teacher education and continuing professional development programmes is the paucity of rigorous evidence about the effectiveness of different types of programmes in different contexts. (For a discussion of why such evidence is not readily available and what needs to be done, see Schwille and Dembélé, 2007, pp. 53–58.) This means that governments and NGOs often have to rely on anecdotal information on what training approach might be effective, even in 'normal' settings; the problem is greater in emergency or conflict settings, where even less careful evaluation work has been done. This is a strong argument for building evaluation into new programmes such as the arts-based approaches, to allow learning from experience and redesign of the programmes where necessary.

10.3 Ensuring teacher effort

In their chapter in this volume (chapter 4), Rogers and Vegas use a notion that we find useful in considering teacher effectiveness. It is the notion of teacher effort, which encompasses the time and thought that teachers put into teaching, including class preparation. Rogers and Vegas rightly argue that "better skills [and knowledge] have no effect on learning if the teacher does not make the effort to use them"—so *policymakers need to pay attention to teachers' effort, and not just their skills*.

In developing countries in particular, teacher attendance is a necessary condition for student learning, as well as a basic but illuminating indicator of teacher effort. To ensure teacher effort therefore requires, first and foremost, ensuring attendance—or, to turn the

problem around, documenting absence, understanding its causes and identifying steps to address it. In different contexts, teachers' attendance may have to do with one or several of the following interrelated factors: compensation and benefits, status, management practices, opportunities for professional development, opportunities and mechanisms for career progression, working and living conditions, physical protection and well-being.

Among these factors, teacher compensation appears as the most complex one to deal with. The teacher wage bill looms large in government calculations, because it typically represents two thirds or more of the recurrent education budget. The shift in teacher employment management and the reduction of the length of professional preparation essentially aim to increase teacher supply while controlling the wage bill. While this aim is understandable, low salaries are likely to reduce the morale of incumbent teachers, while also worsening the image of the profession in the society. As a result, teachers may make less effort, and the profession will likely find it harder to attract motivated and high-quality entrants into the teaching corps. As Brannelly and Ndaruhutse (chapter 8) have argued, there is no definitive solution to the problem of teacher compensation, for it highly depends on the employer's capacity to pay in a given context. They note that situations of fragility or emergency are even more complex, and they offer three principles for acting in those situations: responsiveness, appropriateness and coordination. Part of the complexity is that, as Rogers and Vegas note, higher salaries may not always improve the day-to-day incentives of teachers to exert effort, so compensation policy needs to be complemented by effective teacher management and support.

Thus the issue of teacher compensation is closely linked with that of status or employment management. In light of the trends observed in several countries, the suggestion made by Dembélé and Mellouki (chapter 3) needs to be taken seriously. It is indeed *important to clarify the terms of coexistence of the hybrid position-based model that is now dominant in many countries and the career-based model in decline since the 1990s*. The policy question to be addressed is: What appropriate balance can be made between the two models? Put differently, what proportion of contract teachers is desirable in an education system? Answering this question implies also dealing with the issue of career development possibilities for this type of teachers, bearing in mind that in the absence of such possibilities attrition may increase, thus threatening stability and the development of collective expertise in the teaching force.

It is also important that the teaching force be equitably distributed across an education system (in terms of both quantity and quality of teachers) and that this be done in a transparent fashion. Ineffective and non-transparent management practices can and do influence whether or not teachers make the effort expected of them.

Gender balance is yet another aspect to take into account in the formation and management of a teaching force. For women teachers, this may require special measures such as single-sex training and professional development opportunities, as well as the establish-

ment of childcare facilities within schools, particularly in conservative contexts (Dilshad Ashraf, chapter 9; Kirk and Winthrop, chapter 7, this volume).

10.4 Concluding remarks

The outlook of the existing teaching force is a powerful pull-or-push factor for high-calibre candidates to the profession. This calls for education authorities to be mindful of how they treat teachers. Effective education systems are typically those that manage to attract well-qualified entrants into the teaching profession and also to motivate those who are already teaching. In the long run, we believe that the goal of teacher policy should be to build a truly professional teaching corps—one composed primarily of teachers who have the skills and training of professionals, who are treated like professionals in terms of salary, support and working conditions, and who also are required to meet high expectations in terms of their commitment and motivation.

Different countries and settings will require different paths towards this goal, which will likely be compatible with different institutional structures. The road will sometimes be a tortuous one, especially in emergency and conflict situations, or even in ‘normal’ situations where universal primary education has yet to be achieved. In such cases, the immediate objective will often simply be to get teachers into the classroom. Even in those cases, the recommendations discussed above—together with a focus on student learning and student welfare—can help guide the way.

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